Containing the CIA *Harry Howe Ransom*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

December 11, 1965, 35 cents

Radicals on the March

Andrew Kopkind

More Lost Indians

James Ridgeway

Down on the Updike Farm

Joseph Epstein

Heading the Other Way

The Editors

NEWSPAPER NEWSPAPER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Now Available—The Books You WANT to Read

NEW REPUBLIC BOOK SERVICE

Special Money-Saving Prices on Most Books

Here is an opportunity to get select books delivered directly to you . . . saving time and money.

RECOMMENDED BOOKS

2—HOW TO ARGUE WITH A CONSERVATIVE by Neil Staebler and Douglas Ross. Addressed openly to liberals, it gives a full platform to the conservative point of view on every subject and it presents in reply the liberal's answer. An essential handbook for liberals, essential homework for conservatives. **$4.50**

14—ECCE HOMO by George Grosz. This modern **Dance Macabre** consists of sixteen watercolors (reproduced in full color) and eighty-four drawings. It is one of the acknowledged masterpieces of graphic indictment of the present century. In searing line and burning color, it presents the panorama of decadent Berlin in the twenties. Grosz shows its society and leaders naked and unadorned. It is in the genre of Goya, Rowlandson and Daumier. This large (10¼" x 14¼") and handsome edition faithfully follows the *original issue and contains all of Grosz' original illustrations before it* was confiscated and destroyed. John I. H. Bauer, Curator of the Whitney Museum, writes, "George Grosz is the greatest social-satirist of the 20th century." **Boxed, $35.00**

15—THE COLONIZER AND THE COLONIZED by Albert Memmi. Introduction by Jean-Paul Sartre. Written before the Algerian war, and predicting the downfall of colonialism, it was a prophetic work; today it stands as one of the most powerful and psychologically penetrating studies of oppression under colonialism. **$4.50**

16—THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MALCOLM X. Introduction by M. S. Hendler. Epilogue by Alex Haley. Malcolm X's own remarkable story told right up to the time of his assassination, is a testament of great emotional power, a classic American testimony of the black man in white America. **$7.50**

17—THE ARTIST IN SOCIETY, Problems and Treatment of the Creative Personality by Lawrence J. Hatterer, M.D. Based chiefly on clinical experience, here is a survey of the drives, needs, values, and the problems peculiar to the creative personality in the modern setting. **$5.50**

18—THE BEST IN 20th CENTURY ARCHITECTURE edited by Georges and Rosamond Bernier. A text and picture presentation of the new, exciting, vital forms, new materials and the new spirit of creative activity that dominate architecture today. 280 pages, 24 full-color pages, many monochrome illustrations, 9¼" x 12¼". List Price $15.00. **SPECIAL $12.95**

19—WHEN THE NEW DEAL WAS YOUNG AND GAY; F.D.R. and His Circle by Charles Hurd. Introduction by the Hon. James A. Farley. A nostalgic account of the first four years of F.D.R.'s controversial presidency written by the White House correspondent of that era. It illuminates the electrifying changes which still affect us twenty years after Roosevelt's death. Illustrated. **$5.95**

20—THE DAY KHRUSHCHEV FELL by Martin Page. A veteran reporter writes the definitive story of that fateful day of October 15, 1964 when the news flashed around the world that **Nikita Khrushchev is overthrown!** Mr. Page puts Mr. K.'s extraordinary career into clear focus. **$4.95**

21—THE OLYMPIA READER edited by Maurice Girodias. The founder and moving spirit of the Olympia Press in Paris, gathers in one 728 page volume generous excerpts from over thirty of his best authors with emphasis on works that have never appeared in this country. Included are Miller, Genet, Durrell, Burroughs, Beckett and many others. Illustrated. **$12.50**

22—RICHARD BURTON recites the LOVE POEMS OF JOHN DONNE. A HiFi record issued by Caedman. Lovers of the poetry of Donne and the artistry of Burton will welcome this record. Designate monaural or stereo. **$5.95**

23—GAMES PEOPLE PLAY. The Psychology of Human Relationships by Dr. Eric Berne. A devastating yet humorous analysis of ways people use to conceal—from themselves and others—underlying motives and rationales. **$5.00**

24—JEAN GENET: Scenes from **The Blacks, Our Lady of the Flowers, The Maids, The Miracle of the Rose.** Readings from **The Thief's Journal, The Balcony** and **The Screens.** The avant-garde record of the year! Designate monaural or stereo. **$5.95**

25—SPY by Gordon Lonsdale. *The first-person story of a master Soviet espi*onage agent's Cold War activities in the United States and Britain. Lonsdale was released from his British prison last year in a spy trade with the Soviets. The CIA is believed to be investigating some of his new disclosures. **$4.95**

26—THE BALD SOPRANO by Eugene Ionesco. A revolutionary new graphic technique that combines the photographs of Henry Cohen with the typographical design of Massin, illustrating Ionesco's famous play. This technique animates the modern classic so that it comes alive on the printed page. **$10.00**

Books by New Republic Contributors

As a service to our readers, each book is available at a special 20% discount off the published price.

28a—POLITICS AND THE WARREN COURT by Alexander Bickel (Retail Price $6.95) **$5.55**

29a—THE UNFINISHED EXPERIMENT: DEMOCRACY IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC by Juan Bosch (Retail Price $5.95) **$4.75**

30a—AMERICAN ASPECTS by D. W. Brogan (Retail Price $4.00) **$3.20**

31a—SEASONS OF OF DISCONTENT by Robert Brustein (Retail Price $5.95) **$4.75**

32a—THE LERMONTOV READER edited and translated by Guy Daniels. (Retail Price $6.50) **$4.20**

33a—ARMS, MONEY, AND POLITICS by Jules Duscha (Retail Price $4.75) **$3.80**

34a—ROAR LION ROAR AND OTHER STORIES by Irvin Faust (Retail Price $3.95) **$3.15**

35a—GREAT COMIC BOOK HEROES by Jules Feiffer (Retail Price $9.95) **$7.95**

36a—RANSOM, A Critique of the American Bail System by Ronald Goldfarb. Foreword by Justice Arthur J. Goldberg. (Retail Price $5.95) **$4.75**

37a—MAJORCA OBSERVED by Robert Graves (Retail Price $10.00) **$8.00**

38a—GERTRUDE STEIN'S AMERICA edited by Gilbert A. Harrison. (Retail Price $3.95) **$3.15**

39a—VIETNAM AND THE UNITED STATES by Hans J. Morgenthau (Retail Price $3.25) **$2.60**

40a—THE RISE AND FALL OF STALIN by Robert Payne (Retail Price $10.00) **$8.00**

41a—BOURGEOIS ANONYMOUS by Morris Philipson. A novel of love among New York's would-be intellectuals. "A splendid burlesque"—Jacques Barzun. (Retail Price $4.95) **$3.95**

42a—A THOUSAND DAYS by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. John F. Kennedy in the White House. (Retail Price $9.00) **$7.20**

43a—ETHICS OF PSYCHOANALYSIS by Thomas Szasz, M.D. (Retail Price $5.50) **$4.40**

44a—OF THE FARM, a novel by John Updike (Retail Price $3.95) **$3.15**

USE THIS HANDY ORDER FORM

NEW REPUBLIC BOOK SERVICE
1244 19th St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Please rush to me the book(s) circled below. Enclosed is my check or money order for $_____.

2 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23
24 25 26 28a 29a 30a 31a 32a 33a 34a
35a 36a 37a 38a 39a 40a 41a 42a 43a 44a

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

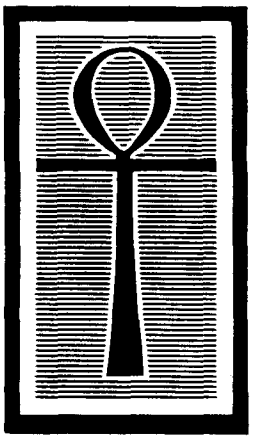
CITY ..... STATE ..... ZIP .....

No charge orders accepted—for foreign shipment add 50 cents, each book.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In all the world there is no other book like

ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF OCCULTISM



GIFT BOOKS

IN ADDITION TO THE GIFT YOU RECEIVE ON JOINING, YOU GET A GIFT WITH YOUR FIFTH PURCHASE AND ANOTHER GIFT WITH EVERY THIRD PURCHASE THEREAFTER

2500 ENTRIES...EVERYTHING YOU WANT TO KNOW. From *Adjuration* and *Alchemy* to *Zodiac, Zohar,* and *Zoroaster,* this illustrated compendium of occult knowledge covers every aspect of Mysticism, Metaphysics, Spiritism, Demonology, Magic, Occult Sciences, Occult Personalities and Psychic Science.

You have probably heard of this prized collectors' item even though you may never have seen a copy. In the years it has been out of print, ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF OCCULTISM has been treasured by the few people fortunate enough to own it, sought after by thousands who knew it only by reputation and by consulting dog-eared copies in the few libraries which could still boast of possessing one.

A superb new deluxe edition of ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF OCCULTISM is now at last available in limited quantities. A giant 8" x 10" volume, bound in Buckram and Elephant Hide, and handsomely boxed, it contains every word of the historic 1920 London edition. A book like this is scarcely ever offered at less than $25.00. Thanks to the worldwide demand that made possible a large printing, it has been published to sell everywhere for $15.00. However, a copy can be yours free if you act promptly.

RARE AND REVEALING ILLUSTRATIONS

This book is the only true encyclopaedia in its field—the supreme arbiter in all matters of dispute—summarizing the entire occult literature of all times and places, and enriched with rare illustrations of symbols, amulets, scriptures, psychographs, and Kabalistic diagrams.

Many of the 2500 entries are several pages long. The alphabetical arrangement provides instant reference. But such is the fascination of this book that once your first questions are answered you'll want to study it page by page, from beginning to end. It is one of the great reading experiences of a lifetime.

Published at $15.00. Yours FREE with a trial membership in the Mystic Arts Book Society

PARTIAL CONTENTS

Compare the following entries in this book with those of any other encyclopaedia:

Adonai. Agrippa. Albertus Magnus. Alchemy. Alomancy. Alphabet (Magical). Amulets. Anathema. Animal Magnetism. Antichrist. Apollonius of Tyana. Arthur (King). Astral Body. Astrology. Automatic Writing. Aztecs. Bacchic Mysteries. Bacon (Roger). Black Mass. Cagliostro. Cathari. Ceremonial Magic. Cock. Demonology. Dionysiac Mysteries. Enoch (Book of). Exorcism. Fox Sisters. Gnosticism. Grail (Holy). Grimoire. Hermetic Magic. Initiation. Kabala. Karma. Levi (Eliphas). Lycanthropy. Magi. Maimonides. Medium. Mithraic Mysteries. Numbers (Magical). Orphic Magic. Philosophers' Stone. Pythagoras. Second Sight. Secret Tradition. She-Goat. Shekinah. Spells. Talisman. Tree of Life. Urim and Thummim. White Magic. Xylomancy. Zohar. *And much, much more. 2500 entries in all!*

When you consider the truly extraordinary value of this free gift volume, you can appreciate the unique benefits of membership in the *Mystic Arts Book Society.*

ABOUT THIS UNUSUAL BOOK CLUB

In becoming a member you will be joining with other people of venturesome spirit who share your own interest in the powers of the human mind. You will find, as they have, that Membership enriches your leisure hours as nothing else can. The Board of Editors combs publishers' lists for the handful of exceptional books each year that are worthy to become Mystic Arts Book Society selections, and offers them to Members at greatly reduced prices—savings up to 40%.

OFFER EXPIRES SOON

A list of current selections is shown in the coupon below. Choose one as your first selection and receive with it—free—your gift copy of ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF OCCULTISM (remember quantities are limited—so act now). When your books arrive, examine them for 10 days. If not delighted, simply return them and your Trial Membership will be cancelled without obligation. You see, you risk nothing. It makes sense to mail the coupon today.

CHOOSE YOUR FIRST SELECTION HERE

☐ **NEW MASTER COURSE IN HYPNOTISM** by Harry Arons. The noted founder of Scientific Ethical Hypnosis brings the reader up-to-date. Transcribed directly from tapes of Arons' own classroom courses.
Retail: $6.00 ***Members' Price: $4.95***

☐ **GYPSY SORCERY AND FORTUNE TELLING** by Charles Godfrey Leland. The author was founder of the Gypsy Lore Society. This is the last of his gypsy works, harvest of spells, superstitions, customs, ceremonies, fetishes, usages, exorcisms, incantations and love philtres.
Retail: $10.00 ***Members' Price: $5.95***

☐ **THE BOOK OF THE DEAD** translated by E. A. Wallis Budge, Late Keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in The British Museum. 736 pages, 15 full-page plates, 420 vignettes. Exact reproduction of the famous Medici edition.
Retail: $12.50 ***Members' Price: $5.95***

☐ **THE ART AND SCIENCE OF LOVE** by Albert Ellis, Ph.D. An admirably forthright, understandable, and practical guide. The author is a noted psychotherapist known to millions of Americans for his championship of enlightened sex.
Retail: $7.95 ***Members' Price: $5.95***

☐ **HUMAN PERSONALITY AND ITS SURVIVAL OF BODILY DEATH** by F. W. H. Myers. Foreword by Aldous Huxley. William James calls Myers "the pioneer who staked out a vast tract of mental wilderness and planted the flag of genuine science on it."
Retail: $10.00 ***Members' Price: $5.95***

☐ **FORERUNNERS AND RIVALS OF CHRISTIANITY From 330 B.C. to 330 A.D.** by Francis Legge. A fascinating account of a turbulent era erupting with manifold religions, torn by schisms, reaching for an amalgam of all beliefs.
Retail: $10.00 ***Members' Price: $6.95***

☐ **INTRODUCTION TO YOGA** by Sachindra Majumdar. The basic concepts of yoga—spiritual, psychological, and physical—communicated to the West in a way never done before. Forty-one large photographs.
Retail: $7.50 ***Members' Price: $5.95***

☐ **THE FUTURE IS NOW** by Arthur W. Osborn. The author's case histories range through precognitive warnings, precognition of death, trivial and significant events, and longer-range precognitions.
Retail: $6.00 ***Members' Price: $4.95***

☐ **COSMIC CONSCIOUSNESS** by R. M. Bucke, M.D. One of the great classics of mystical experience, written sixty years ago but still ahead of its time.
Retail: $5.95 ***Members' Price: $4.95***

☐ **THE HOLY KABBALAH** by Arthur Edward Waite. Intro. by Kenneth Rexroth. This occult and secret tradition begins in the dim past and remains alive to this day, both as a mysticism and as a magic. 672 pp.
Retail: $10.00 ***Members' Price: $5.95***

SEND NO MONEY NOW

MYSTIC ARTS BOOK SOCIETY, New Hyde Park, N. Y.

I accept your invitation. Please send me at once, as my gift, the ENCYCLOPEDIA OF OCCULTISM, regularly priced at $15.00.

Please enroll me as a Member and send me, as my first selection, the book checked on the other side. I agree to buy four books during the next twelve months. With my fifth purchase, I shall be entitled to a free gift book, and another free gift with every third purchase thereafter. You will also send me each month, free of charge, the Book News, and with it a form which enables me to refuse the next selection. I have the right to cancel my Membership at any time after purchasing four books of my preference.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone____ State_____

☐ Please charge my account and bill me for my first selection plus the shipping charge.

☐ My check for my first purchase is enclosed. (Mystic Arts will pay the postage.)

NR-17

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

T.R.B. *from Washington*

Predictions

★ We got as far as our first "We predict," in a year-end political forecast, when we checked ourself. We fished out our folder marked "Predictions." It took us completely off the track.

"There is no cause for worry. The high tide of prosperity will continue." Andrew W. Mellon said that right before the 1929 smash.

"The economic condition of the world seems on the verge of a great forward movement," Bernard Baruch told Bruce Barton in an interview in *The American* magazine for June, 1929.

Poor old Hoover. "I can observe little on the horizon today to give us undue or great concern," he said, as the bottom dropped out.

But that's old stuff. Let's look at the yellowed clippings of a later date, the FDR-Landon Presidential race of 1936. You recall: Landon carried two states, Maine and Vermont. Our favorite predictor here was columnist David Lawrence: "Landon to win in Pennsylvania by 250,000," he wrote in the *Boston Transcript*, October 22. "New York for Landon," is another headline on a Lawrence column. Others were in there pitching, too: "California swings to Landon with rest of West Coast," said a correspondent of the *NY Sun*, Oct. 31. "Kiplinger Sure President Vote Will Be Close," according to a headline, Oct. 22, in the *Boston Herald*. And the *NY Herald Tribune* published what it described as "a new type of Presidential forecast" by Rogers C. Dunn, a voting research expert: "Landon To Win 33 States, New Forecast Shows."

Well, we were all younger then. We were, perhaps, more sure of ourselves. But a prediction that blows up in your face can be a humiliating matter. We know. Let's pass hurriedly over Dewey's "victory" against Truman in 1948. This column (we blush to say) was so confident of a Dewey win that we went to press on it. We still recall our conflicting emotions that Wednesday morning: exhilaration over Truman's victory and mortification over our forthcoming reference to President-elect Dewey. All we can say is that the public loves this kind of thing. Nothing rejoices a reader more than to point out with a smirk, to some hardworking columnist, a little slip he has made like naming the wrong President.

Hum, hum. Here's a nice column by Stewart Alsop, June 2, 1951, beginning: "Secretary of State Dean Acheson cannot conceivably remain in office very much longer." And here's the "Newsgram" page of the *US News & World Report*, Feb. 13, 1953, "A Look Ahead": "Eisenhower will be a strong President, a leader." Even at that early hour of the new Administration, something led us to file that away.

The *Boston Globe*, Sept. 15, 1955, had a piece: "Why Ike Won't Run Again." Seems he had promised Mamie he wouldn't.

In 1957 the Soviets lofted Sputnik into space. In a way it resembled 1929. There was the same awful jolt to confidence and the same official rush to cover up. "The satellite is a nice scientific trick," said Charles Wilson, ex-Secretary of Defense. "Nobody is going to drop anything down on you from a satellite while you are asleep, so don't worry about it."

Senator Goldwater also refused to get excited "just because the Russians have lobbed a basketball into space that goes beep, beep, beep."

Silly Bauble

★ Clarence Randall, Ike's special adviser on foreign economic policy: "The satellite is a silly bauble. I am personally very gratified that our nation was not first."

General Eisenhower mildly protested that it "does not raise my apprehensions, not one iota."

Our most notable modern prophet is Defense Secretary McNamara. His field: Vietnam. "The corner has been definitely turned toward victory" (May, 1963). "The major part of the US military task can be completed by the end of 1965" (October, 1963). "We have every reason to believe that plans will be successful in 1964" (December, 1963). "The US hopes to withdraw most of its troops from South Vietnam before the end of 1965" (February, 1964). We read, with mixed feelings, his latest effort last week: "We have stopped losing the war."

Sour Mood

★ So where were we when we got interrupted? Oh, we were just going to offer a few speculations, *not* predictions. Chief of these is that the dominant political issue next year will be Vietnam.

There certainly is a sour mood in this capital today. Draft calls and casualties are going up, and Administration officials are beginning to educate the public to the idea that it's going to be a long war. The man-in-the-street somehow can't understand it. How can a country as rich as the US, he asks, be thwarted in a silly little war? Surely there must be some easy way out.

This is what politicians call a "gut" issue. It affects everybody. It touches a naked nerve. The issue seems likely to grow – and it is 11 months to the midterm election. Republicans have been desperately looking for an issue: inflation – ? centralized government – ? Johnson the dictator? People don't get roused over such matters, not when the economy is booming. But a dirty war in Asia, with your boy in it, that is another matter.

House Minority Leader Gerald Ford of Michigan says he is resisting "increasing pressure" to break sharply with the Administration. Senator Dirksen and Richard Nixon want to extend bombing. Many Democrats go along. Mr. Johnson is in a cleft stick. If he tries to negotiate it will be a sign of "softness." If casualties mount, it will be because he did not use air power, or The Bomb.

Republicans insist they will not make this a political issue. But we can't believe they will keep Vietnam out of politics any more than they kept Korea out of politics.

Of course we are better mannered and less excitable today. Leopards have changed their spots, and politicians are less anxious to get elected. Just the same we predict – but no, not this week.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Opinion Volume 153 Number 24 Issue 2664 December 11, 1965*
Published weekly (except July and August when it is biweekly) and distributed by The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036. Phone FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 35c. Yearly subscription, $8; Foreign, $9; Armed Forces personnel or students, $6.50. Send all remittances and correspondence about subscriptions, undelivered copies, and changes of addresses to Subscription Department,* The New Republic, *381 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43301.* *Copyright© 1965 by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc.* *Item g. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Indexed in* Readers' Guide.

CONTENTS

COMMENT – 5-9
Heading the Other Way, Organized Labor's Ten Years Together, Sweat, Code for Soldiers, Available for Service, Writers in the Soviet Union

Privileged Education in Britain
– *by Brian Wenham* 10
Containing Central Intelligence
– *by Harry Howe Ransom* 12
Radicals on the March
– *by Andrew Kopkind* 15
More Lost Indians
– *by James Ridgeway* 19

BOOKS – *reviews and a poem*
by Joseph Epstein, Leonard E. Nathan, Thomas S. Szasz, Gerald W. Johnson, Richard Strout 23
FEIFFER 32
FILMS *by Stanley Kauffmann* 33
RECORDS *by B. H. Haggin* 35
A COMMUNICATION *from Lee Lockwood* 36
CORRESPONDENCE 38

THE STAFF

Editor-in-Chief – Gilbert A. Harrison
Managing Editor – Alex Campbell
Books and Arts Editor – Robert Evett
Associate Editors – James Ridgeway, Andrew Kopkind
Staff Writer – David Sanford
Assistant to the Editors – F. R. Ruskin
Copy Editor – Lucille Davis

Contributing Editors: Alexander M. Bickel, Robert Brustein, Asher Brynes, Joseph Featherstone, Helen Fuller, Frank Getlein, B. H. Haggin, Morton H. Halperin, Irving Howe, Christopher Jencks, Gerald W. Johnson, Stanley Kauffmann, Murray Kempton, Charles Burton Marshall, Helen Hill Miller

Publisher – Robert B. Luce
Circulation Manager – Bertha Lehman
Business Manager – Glenon Matthiesen
New York Advertising Representative – E. Laurence White, Jr., Good-Laidley-White 50 East 42nd Street, New York, N. Y. 10017

Heading the Other Way

For years the military have itched to launch this country on a brand-new, $20-billion defense system against incoming missiles, but hitherto the President and Defense Secretary McNamara have sensibly felt instead that what's needed is a freeze on ruinously expensive defense and weapons systems if the Russians can be got to agree. At present, the United States and the Soviet Union have enough nuclear warheads to wipe each other out several times over, and a workable anti-missile system if achievable at all wouldn't be able to cut American losses in a nuclear war much below 80 million lives.

The joint chiefs of staff are now taking advantage of the Administration's China obsession to demand that a start be made on developing an anti-missile system, ostensibly to deal with the threat allegedly posed by China's potential nuclear force – though such a threat is probably two full decades off, as far as the defense of this country is concerned. The fiscal budget for 1967, due for unveiling in January, will disclose whether the Administration has been softheaded enough to yield to the joint chiefs. In view of the additional billions of dollars that escalation of the war in Vietnam now seems certain to cost, the chances are that the Administration will defer a decision on the joint chiefs' demand, or will rather weakly compromise, by ordering a modest production plan that doesn't necessarily commit it to a full-scale building program. But the military heat will stay turned on, and a battle may develop in Congress, with members of the House and Senate Armed Services Committees denouncing further postponement of an anti-missile defense.

Last week at the White House Conference on International Cooperation, a high-level committee headed by Jerome B. Wiesner, President Kennedy's science adviser and now Dean of Science at MIT, warned of at least two perilous by-products if the US embarks on an anti-missile system: (1) it will rule out any chance of an agreement between the US and Russia, such as the US itself proposed only last year, for a weapons "freeze"; (2) instead, a ballistic-missile defense designed to shoot down Chinese missiles might lead Russia and the US into what the Wiesner report calls "a violent spasm of procurement." Russia would either build more missiles, or also proceed with an anti-missile defense system; and this in turn would produce another spiral in the vicious circle, by tempting this country to increase its strategic weapons, in order to preserve *its* deterrent capability.

Among others on the committee with Wiesner was Roswell Gil-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

patric, the former Deputy Secretary of Defense to McNamara; in an article last year in *Foreign Affairs*, Gilpatric suggested, in sharp opposition to what the joint chiefs now advocate, that there "be no production or deployment of anti-ballistic-missile systems in the absence of Soviet moves to proceed beyond experimental installations of such systems." As there has so far as is publicly known been no sign of any such Soviet moves, the Wiesner-Gilpatric committee last week urged the White House to adopt "a moratorium of at least three years on new deployment of systems for ballistic-missile defense." A moratorium on "new deployment" wouldn't hinder continuing research on an anti-missile system; this country is conducting such research, and doubtless the Russians are, too. But it's a quantum jump from that to launching into a full-scale production program.

We already possess ballistic missiles early warning systems (BMEWS). We also have defensive Nike-Hercules missiles stationed around cities, for shooting down enemy aircraft, and even anti-satellite weapons. But we have no effective defenses against launched intercontinental or sea-based missiles – and neither do the Russians despite their occasional claims to the contrary. The United States and the Soviet Union each relies on the threat of retaliation rather than the capacity to deflect an attack. Earlier this year Mr. McNamara told Congress in his annual review of defense policy that no defense spending within the general range considered for an anti-missile system "would reduce fatalities to a level much below 80 million unless the enemy delayed his attack on our cities long enough for our missile forces to play a major, damage-limiting role." The Pentagon at that time was thinking of Russia as the possible enemy; the chance of a future Chinese nuclear attack on this country was passed off with the comment that "the leadtime for additional nations to develop and deploy an effective ballistic missile system capable of reaching the US is greater than we require to deploy the defense."

Now however, just a few months later, the military chiefs deem the Chinese capable of almost anything – leading to the suspicion that the chiefs hope by playing up the possibility of a primitive Chinese nuclear threat to outflank all the solid arguments against building an ultra-expensive anti-missile system. In rebuttal of such attempts, the Wiesner committee report plays down the Chinese threat and points out that building an anti-missile system would play into the hands of the Chinese Communists by disrupting US-Soviet relations (already rendered more than usually fragile by the Vietnam war). It might disrupt US relations with Europe also: the Europeans live under threat of medium-range Soviet missiles, so why shouldn't they too demand that they get anti-missile systems?

Instead of everyone starting down such a road, the Wiesner report proposes, in addition to its three-year moratorium on an anti-missile system, new assaults on proliferation and new attempts at disarmament:

► Nuclear-free zones in Latin America, Africa and the Middle East and, as an imaginative initiative in arms limitations, an Alaska-Siberia arms control zone centered around the Bering Straits.

► Instead of an anti-missile defense system for this country which is not really in danger of nuclear attack by China, a pledge to defend with all necessary means a nonnuclear power like India, which may fear nuclear attack or threat of nuclear attack by China; such a pledge, especially in conjunction with a nonproliferation treaty, might dissuade India from acquiring nuclear weapons and so from helping them spread.

► In Europe, a nonaggression pact between NATO and the Warsaw Pact countries. Defense Secretary McNamara is cold to the State Department's project of a multilateral nuclear force for the Europeans (including the Germans); but his reasoning is that an MLF isn't needed because there are already more than 5,000 nuclear warheads on European soil and he announced last week there will be a 20 percent increase in the next six months. The Wiesner report, however, wants to go a lot farther than sinking the MLF. It suggests the Russians might be willing to reduce their missiles aimed at targets in Western Europe in exchange for a cut in American ICBMs. A NATO-Warsaw nonaggression pact could reduce the danger of surprise conventional attacks in Europe, by having observers in NATO and Warsaw Pact countries, parallel troop reductions in West and East Germany by the US and Russia, and a series of trade and other arrangements between East and West Germany which could lead to some kind of confederation of the two Germanys.

► In the developing countries of the world, control of the traffic in conventional arms. Israel and Egypt between them spent a billion dollars on arms in 1963; their rates of arms spending per head are among the world's highest. The US and Russia should agree in the UN to stop pouring bombers, tanks and submarines into such areas.

► A stronger effort by the US to get China into a dialogue about arms control, get China into the UN, and get her to accept the obligations of the Charter. The report says bilateral talks with Russia about arms control turned out to be "much more useful than was initially anticipated." But Peking wants China's UN seat before joining UN-sponsored disarmament talks.

► Another try at a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty to include underground tests, perhaps using recent improvements in detection systems.

All this and more add up to a recommendation by top scientists and defense specialists that we head away from the escalation of the arms race the military chiefs seem to want, toward *de*-escalation and *dis*armament.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

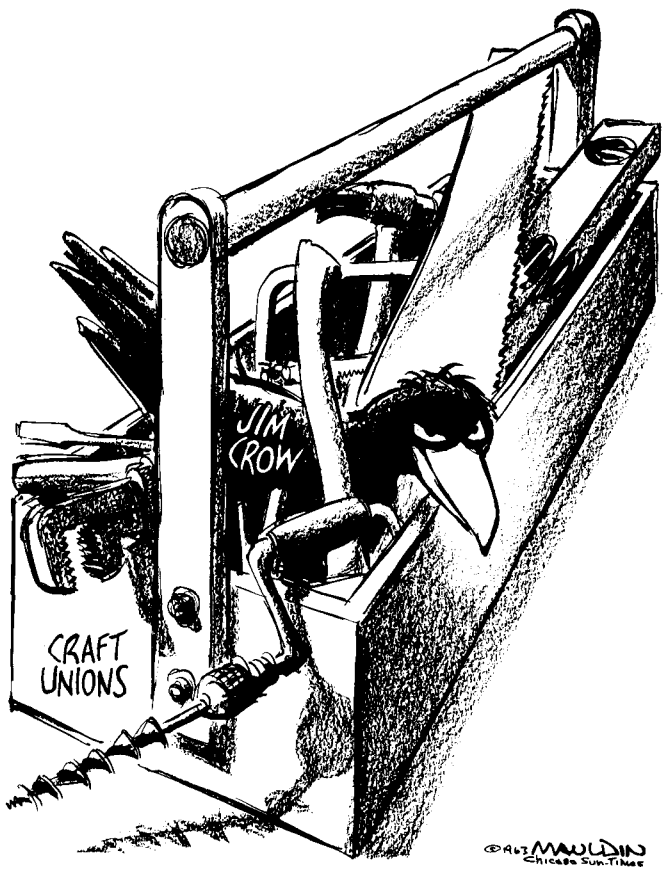
Organized Labor's Ten Years Together

In 1955, after two decades of bickering, the AFL and the CIO got together. It was no love match, but it worked, and this week in San Francisco the 10th anniversary is being celebrated at the sixth biennial AFL-CIO Convention. The merger was not intended to resolve all differences between the then 74-year-old AFL and the 19-year-old CIO. The achievement of true togetherness was left to the indefinite future. No offices were abolished under the 1955 pact, and since then there has been no change in the internal power relations. Unions operating in practically the same jurisdictions continue to function separately, though they raid each other less than before, because they are less hungry. (Since 1955, the statutory minimum wage has gone up from 75 cents to $1.25; average gross weekly earnings in manufacturing have risen from $75.70 to $103.38, and in the construction industries from $90.90 to $131.71.) Occasionally, unions representing similar kinds of workers collaborate. The United Auto Workers and the Machinists have cooperated in the aerospace labor field. Six national unions recently set up machinery for joint bargaining next year with General Electric and Westinghouse.

Union presidents have come and gone, but the AFL-CIO Executive Council has seen only three newcomers during the past decade; they filled vacancies caused by death. Nine vice-presidents now on the Council are not heads of their respective unions, having either retired or been retired. Doubtless, the delegates at San Francisco will approve moves to rid the AFL-CIO hierarchy of some of the lame and all of the lame ducks who have so long rested there. This could have a mildly tonic effect. It could mean, for instance, a decision to spend more money on organizing drives and on political action, and less on real estate. Recently, UAW President Walter Reuther has been deploring the "lack of will to commit our resources" to massive organizing drives. "Too often," Reuther believes, "there is a kind of banker mentality in the American labor movement. . . . What we need is to get some of the money out of the mothballs and put it to work building the American labor movement."

Financially, the unions are in good shape, sharing the affluence of the larger society. But prosperity has not swelled membership. One cannot always rely on figures the unions themselves give; sometimes these are lower than the actual count, and for the reason that unions are assessed their AFL-CIO dues on a per capita basis and thus have an incentive to depreciate rather than exaggerate their membership. It is safe to say, however, that 10 years ago about 17 million men and women belonged to unions; and that last year the number was about the same. As a percentage of nonagricultural employment, union membership has dropped since 1955 from 33.2 to 28.9 percent.

Such statistics have been used to prove that organized labor has been standing still, which is not altogether true. Unions reflect the composition of the work force, and the work force has been changing radically from blue collar to white collar. Inevitably, union organizing lags behind economic reality. Looking ahead, if the industrial unions, whose economic base is shrinking under the pressures of automation and cybernation, can hold their own, they will be doing well. The new recruits to unionism will come from the expanding service industries, from government workers and employees of nonprofit institutions. From 1947 through 1964, the number of employed white-collar persons, excluding managers, officials and proprietors, rose from around 14 million to 24 million, while the growth rate in blue-collar workers was barely over one percent – from 23,554,000 to 25,534,000. Unions represent 56.5 percent of blue-collar labor, but only 10 percent of white-collar labor. The area of greatest potential for the labor movement in the coming decade is thus obvious. The fastest growing unions today represent government employees, teachers and retail clerks. Or-



Bird Sanctuary

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ganizing the overwhelmingly nonunion (and often antiunion) white-collar workers is not the AFL-CIO's only challenge. A month after merger, Mr. Meany told the Jewish Labor Committee that "freedom from discrimination – this idea of getting everybody in, making our union open to all – is of tremendous importance and ties labor right into this field of civil and human rights." A decade later, as Herbert Hill, National Labor Secretary of the NAACP said last week, "the historic pattern of discrimination against Negroes by the old-line, skilled craft unions remains intact." Local 28 of the Sheet Metal Workers will serve to illustrate. Seventeen years ago, the New York State Commission Against Discrimination ordered it to remove the words "Caucasian only" from its constitution. That, and no more, was done. In 1964, the State Supreme Court ordered Local 28 to cease racial discrimination. Finally it complied, in its fashion. Local 28 has one Negro apprentice.

When President Johnson signed a bill last August authorizing federal expenditures of $3.5 billion for public works and economic development, he particularly noted the opportunities a building boom would offer jobless Negroes. But the President's objective will be frustrated unless the AFL-CIO comes to grips with Jim Crow throughout the building trades – from carpenters to electrical workers, boiler makers, plumbers, and pipefitters and sheet metal workers.

As the delegates examine the state of their unions, they are bound also to confront the fact that dedicated youngsters, who in the 'thirties would have been on labor's picket line, are marching to a different drummer. They are fighting elsewhere, for civil rights, peace, or better garbage collection in a slum. To them, the AFL-CIO is just another protective association, speaking for the possessors and not the dispossessed. The unions, they say, care more about repealing a section of the Taft-Hartley Act than about the poor, are more concerned with security and seniority for themselves than with a better life for all. Such criticism is too sweeping to be just. But there's no doubt about it, the drama has gone out of the labor game, and it cannot be put back by public relations. The AFL-CIO could once again become an exciting enterprise. All it needs is something money can't buy – the ardor of youth and up-to-date awareness of what the world is like.

Sweat

Mr. Johnson will have tough African and Asian problems to chew over when he receives British Prime Minister Harold Wilson and Pakistan President Ayub Khan next week.

First, Africa: other than offering British forces to protect adjacent Zambia, this country and Britain are still puzzled what to do about Rhodesia's month-old declaration of independence, which signified the throttling of the legitimate political aspirations of a black majority by a comparative handful of white settlers. Most United Nations members are nonwhite and are urging stringent economic sanctions, armed intervention or both. They accuse the US and Britain of shrinking from applying those measures to a white rebellion in Africa, only five years after helping put down a black rebellion in the Congo. Moise Tshombe's government in Katanga went into rebellion to try to get its independence; Mr. Wilson says Ian Smith's Rhodesian government is in rebellion; so why isn't there a UN operation against Smith, as there was against Tshombe? Some African nations last week were considering turning themselves into a little, all-black United Nations and sending their own armed forces into action against Smith.

Two months after the UN managed to get India and Pakistan to accept a cease-fire in Kashmir, these two countries which formerly composed British India are as far as ever from a settlement of their grave differences. The Russians have invited Ayub Khan and Indian Prime Minister Shastri to come to Tashkent and try to reach an agreement under Soviet auspices. Both however seem inclined to see President Johnson first – Shastri is to visit Washington next month. Playing their usual game of making life more difficult for everyone else, the Chinese were last week reported by Shastri to be again massing troops on the Himalayan passes and threatening another diplomatic-military lunge at India, aimed presumably at dousing any possible glimmer of the Indo-Pakistan detente which both the US and Russia would like to see.

Next week's talks may remind Mr. Johnson of President Kennedy's ruefully wise remark that some problems don't have solutions. Anyway, not obvious ones, like for instance simple old anti-Communism.

Code for Soldiers

Clean wars, like clean hydrogen bombs, are no nicer than dirty ones. But it is nonetheless gratifying to learn that the US military command in Vietnam has lately instructed our troops to abide by the Geneva prisoner of war conventions of 1949. General Westmoreland issued the instructions in a pocketsize leaflet (according to Charles Mohr in *The New York Times*): "You cannot and must not mistreat your prisoner [or] humiliate or degrade him. . . ."

Denials to the contrary, reports of inhumane treatment of prisoners and the strafing and bombing of nonmilitary facilities had been too well-documented to be

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ignored. Bernard Fall recounted some of the incidents in his *New Republic* article of October 9 and said, "it should not be impossible to provide every serviceman in Vietnam (not just the pilots) with a handy resumé of his obligations under the existing laws and treaties toward the hapless civilian population as well as toward the enemy combatant."

Available for Service

Last June, Eric Chester, a 22-year-old student at the University of Michigan, was arrested in Chicago during a sit-in protest against the House Un-American Activities Committee. He was convicted of trespassing and fined. When his draft board in Royal Oak, Michigan, got wind of this, it reclassified him 1-Y, a pigeonhole reserved for those who are considered "mentally, morally or physically deficient" but who might nevertheless be called in wartime or national emergency. The deferment, according to Chester, was a temporary one dated to expire in June 1966.

On October 15, Chester was sitting-in again, this time at the Ann Arbor selective service office. Along with 30 other students, he was arrested and subsequently convicted of trespassing. Now he has been reclassified 1-A "available for service." Col. Arthur Holmes, director of the state selective service system, called in the registrant files of the Ann Arbor demonstrators and returned them to their respective boards with a report of the incident and his opinion that the students had violated the "penalty" provision of the Universal Military Training and Service Act, which prohibits interfering "in any way" with the administration of the draft. Violators may be fined, imprisoned or, according to Holmes, drafted as delinquents. The Chester case could be interpreted to mean that for a single act of political dissent one may be disqualified for military service; for a second he may be drafted. A first arrest renders one unfit, a second somehow makes him less so.

The clerk of Royal Oak local board 66 acknowledged that Chester had been reclassified 1-A but said the action was "not necessarily" the result of his taking part in the Ann Arbor demonstration. The decision to reclassify him, she amplified, was based on "information which may or may not have been in his file." The sit-in *was* a topic of conversation at the board's meeting, she said.

Three other University of Michigan students have also been reclassified 1-A since participating in the Vietnam protest in Ann Arbor. Local board 89 in Detroit confirmed that one of them, Ray Lauzzana, had indeed lost his student deferment as a result of the Ann Arbor sit-in. Both Lauzzana and Chester have appealed the action.

Writers in the Soviet Union

Soviet intellectuals and artists express themselves more freely today than during the iron age of Stalin. Official tolerance of criticism is nevertheless variable and unpredictable. In late September, Western newsmen reported the arrest of two Soviet writers, Andrei Sinyavsky and Yuli M. Daniel who, under the pseudonyms of Abram Tertz and Nikolai Arzhak, have been published in the West. No word of the arrests has appeared thus far in the Soviet press. The law under which they may be charged is one of those catchalls that make Soviet justice so suspect. It permits a prison sentence of up to seven years, with an additional period of banishment of up to five years, for anyone found guilty of agitation or propaganda carried out to discredit or weaken Soviet power, or the distribution for the same purpose of slanderous fabrications, etc., etc. Sinyavsky and Daniel are also reportedly charged with "irregular currency dealings."

Both writers are identified with literary "liberals" grouped around the journal *Novy Mir*. Sinyavsky is the author of a sensitive and highly laudatory foreword to the recently published edition of the poetry of Boris Pasternak. His most recent piece in *Novy Mir* was a blistering attack on the poetry of an arch-conservative, Yavomatovsky. There is a scene in his *The Trial Begins* in which a young Communist idealist, Seryozha, is being interrogated by the secret police. "Please remember," Seryozha says, "I have not so far been condemned, I am only on trial." The interrogator looks amused, calls Seryozha to the window, points to the people below who are going about as they please, and says: "That's where they are, the people who are on trial. See how many of them. You're different now, my boy. You're not on trial, you're condemned." Sinyavsky's essay, *On Socialist Realism*, is the best statement available on the limitations of that doctrine and how Soviet artists might escape its constricting demands. His most recent novel, *The Makepeace Experiment*, published this year in the United States, is a clever fantasy about a dictator who resembles both Khrushchev and Lenin.

Yuli Daniel is less well-known but has translated poetry from other Slavic languages into Russian.

The arrests may have been brought about by petty jealousies within the writers' establishment in Moscow, or by those who want to get at the controversial *Novy Mir*. They may also represent a calculated move by the police and party conservatives to clamp down on anything that can serve the purposes of anti-Soviet propaganda abroad.

The paradox is the apparent freedom of another writer, Valeriy Tarsis, who has not been molested so far as is known, even though his novel *Ward 7* (re-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

viewed in this issue by Dr. Thomas Szasz) is far more damning to the Soviet system than the writings of either Sinyavsky or Daniel. Tarsis met recently with Western correspondents in Moscow and told them how well he is living, and that he is even able to get some of his royalties in the form of foreign currency in the Soviet Union.

The trial and sentencing of Sinyavsky and Daniel can only have a demoralizing effect on Soviet intellectuals, reminding them of earlier periods when the police were used to enforcing cultural conformity; not to mention their dampening effect on the hopes for an ever-widening cultural exchange between East and West. So far there are no other indications that a tightening up is in progress. *Novy Mir* and *Yunost* (the literary youth magazine) continue to print some good literature and some fairly candid discussion of Soviet society. But leading "liberals" in the Soviet Union have apparently not seen fit to protest the arrests, as they did a year and a half ago when a young Leningrad poet, Yosip Brodsky, was charged, in effect, with being a loafer. Brodsky was subsequently released.

THE FUTURE OF SEPARATE, BUT NOT EQUAL SCHOOLS

Privileged Education in Britain

London

Britain's local education authorities are under pressure from the Labour government to scrap the distinction that exists between "grammar schools" (for children who are adjudged by examination at the age of 11 to be brainy) and "secondary modern schools" (to which, also at the age of 11, are consigned the children similarly tested but found to be less brainy). In place of this two-stream system of education after the age of 11, the local authorities are supposed to come up with schemes whereby all children between the ages of 11 and 18 will attend "comprehensive" schools. Anthony Crosland, the Secretary of State for Education, has given the local education authorities only a year in which to do this, in line with Labour's election pledge, but it's more likely to take at least 10 years.

It's predominantly middle-class children who've tended to find their way into the grammar schools, and the middle class is alarmed at the prospect of large comprehensive schools, in which the able mingle with the dim, the high with the lowly. The more militant have formed a National Educational Association to campaign for the retention of the grammar schools and for selective education. They ferret out evidence from existing comprehensive schools – there are about 200 in all – to support their case. Risinghill, a coeducational London comprehensive, run by a no-caning, permissive headmaster, and closed this year in a flurry of gossip about pregnancy, delinquency and disorder; Kidbrooke, also in London, but for girls only, where a music teacher quit after sounding off against the system; these are names that rank high in middle-class mythology, proof, it is said, that the comprehensive system won't work.

But the truth is that the likely effects of comprehensive education on standards, academic and moral, cannot even be guessed at. Sweden had a five-year survey, to ensure there would be no appreciable loss, before she made the change. Britain has had nothing similar, and one of Crosland's first moves has been to allocate over half a million dollars to research. What is known, from the experience of the present comprehensives, is that many more children stay at school beyond the earliest permitted leaving age of 15 than did so in "secondary modern" schools. But because there are so few comprehensive schools – and because grammar schools still coexist alongside them and continue to filch the best students –it is unclear what effect a full comprehensive policy will have on the educational standards of those now at grammar schools. But two out of every three parents want a grammar-school opportunity for their children, and they want it within a comprehensive system. They don't want selection and separation of students at 11 years of age.

It is opposition to the qualifying examination at 11, rather than any researched case for comprehensives as such, that gives majority public backing to Crosland. In theory, the so-called 11-plus test should be an examination to test a child's suitability for separate courses of education that are nevertheless supposed to be equal in some way. The grammar school would give the traditional academic courses; the secondary modern (and the technical schools, a third and minor category), a more vocational training. But over the past 20 years, in practice, the best staff, the best buildings and the prestige have gone to the grammar schools, and the 11-plus exam operates as a do-or-die hurdle, with apathy and shame settling on those who stumble. Current educational theory on the left also doubts whether a child's

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

intelligence can be measured once and for all at 11; environmental factors loom large, which is why middle-class children, whose parents egg them on, do better.

Crosland is fairly open-minded about how a comprehensive school should function. He has to be. For a start, his power is limited. He can override a local education authority only when a scheme involves the closing of a school. He could take legislative powers, but he doesn't want to. Then, there's a committee at present looking at the whole question of the 11 plus, and the Labour government will have to pay some attention to any alternatives the committee suggests when it reports next year. But the most fundamental problem, when it comes to a switch to large, all-abilities, 11-to-18 comprehensives is that the existing buildings often won't do. The physical impossibility of turning groups of small schools into comprehensive schools overnight has forced Crosland to countenance departures from purist theory. So he will allow a split between schools from 11 to 13, and from 13 on; or a school up to 16, and a kind of junior-college school after 16 for those who want to go on. This gives local authorities room to maneuver, but makes Labour's left-wing suspicious.

Labour's educational radicals have a pressure group too, the Comprehensive Schools Committee, and they are displeased with Crosland for letting through some schemes that make a break at 13, and therefore imply selection, and sitting on others that are fully comprehensive. Crosland's answer is that he's turned them down because they involve clusters of buildings spread over a mile or more, with no real unity between them. To that the left-wing, and the disappointed Labour-controlled local authorities, counter that being practical is all very well, but they must go ahead now, and make a start before the Conservatives get back in.

In fact, the Conservatives in Parliament are not yet unduly worried by the Crosland policy. Sir Edward Boyle, who answers for them on education, is not against comprehensives in principle. He's been heard to boast that he actually opened a couple himself, when he was Minister. His long-term worry is that a full comprehensive system would replace selection by ability by selection through neighborhood; that average or sub-average comprehensives, drawing in all the children in a particular area, would harm the bright student who can at present go further afield in search of a grammar school. But this is not an immediate worry: two important groups of schools, the direct-grant grammar schools and public schools, are outside Crosland's net.

The direct-grant grammar schools are small in number – under 200 of the country's total of 1,300 grammar schools – but they are traditionally independent of the state apparatus, although partially financed by it. They also tend to be the best, and are academically very tough. Crosland's advice to local education authorities is to negotiate to try to bring the direct-grant schools in, but he is not pushing them very hard at this stage. He is even more wary with the public schools. In accordance with another election pledge, a commission will be set up to see how they can best be integrated within the state system, but no one expects swift action from that.

"Public," of course, is a misnomer; public schools in Britain are the fee-paying, boarding schools, ranging from Eton, Harrow and Winchester on down. Crosland, though a public-school boy himself, has been, in his writings, a staunch opponent of them. The well-documented advantages, social as much as intellectual, that public school confers appalled Crosland, when in opposition, and most of Labour's intelligentsia along with him, even though many of them continued to send their own children there. In a sense, given the extremely favorable pupil/teacher ratio – 11 in public schools, 20 in state schools – and, more important, the pull public schools still have with Oxford and Cambridge, the recognized way to the top, they could hardly be blamed for doing so. But now, in power, it seems that they are bound to fall well short of their professed political aim. A complete take-over of the public schools is not possible, especially with a Parliamentary Labour majority of three. It would raise a political furore, and anyway cost too much. Gradual infiltration, on the other hand, admitting a growing proportion of state-aided students, has been half-tried already, and it didn't work. Over 20 years ago, it was accepted that public schools should dilute the fee-paying element with a state-aided intake of 25 percent, but the children have not come forward in great numbers – not many non-public school parents want to send their children away to school – and the local authorities have been reluctant to pay for those who have. And, as Crosland has cogently pointed out, infiltration on a minor scale would hardly change the snob nature of the public school. The school would rather change the character of the state-backed boys, for that, after all, is precisely what the public school has done for generation after generation of *nouveaux riches* since the middle of the last century. So this leaves the government, and Crosland, with one course: financial sabotage. At the moment the public schools escape the quota regulations for teachers and new buildings that state schools obey; public school parents manage also to get tax relief through educational covenants to the tune of a quarter of the fees. A crackdown on these advantages would be one way of nibbling at the public schools, and the only way whereby the government could save money rather than spend it.

It is, above all, the lack of money that threatens to head off Crosland's drive for comprehensive education before it really begins. Britain's economic belt being as tight as it is, Crosland has had to tell local education authorities not to expect money just for the switchover to comprehensives before 1967. That means they can-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

not think in terms of new large schools; in any case it is going to cost some $4 million simply to put the existing buildings in order. There is also a shortage of teachers. By 1970 some 170,000 will have to be trained, either to add to or to replace the present force of 300,000, but present facilities are not up to it, and at the moment there's a freeze on developing new ones.

BRIAN WENHAM

Containing Central Intelligence

by Harry Howe Ransom

On January 22, 1946, President Truman by Executive Order created the Central Intelligence Group, which in the following year became the CIA by act of Congress. American taxpayers spend at least $500 million a year on the Agency, knowing very little about what their money buys or how far the CIA has strayed from the original intent of Congress. At the start, neither Congress nor the President intended the Agency to become a major symbol of the US abroad or a rival of the State Department. As Mr. Truman recalled in December, 1963: "I never had any thought when I set up the CIA that it would be injected into peacetime cloak-and-dagger operations. Some of the complications and embarrassment that I think we have experienced are in part attributable to the fact that this quiet intelligence arm of the President has been so removed from its intended role that it is being interpreted as a symbol of sinister and mysterious foreign intrigue and a subject for Cold War enemy propaganda."

Mr. Truman did not mention that it was during his Administration that the CIA was transformed from a "quiet intelligence arm" into one capable of secret operations overseas. That the CIA has gone far beyond its originators' intent and has earned America a growing reputation as a blundering, crass, reactionary world power is not simply the consequence of bureaucratic empire-building. It stems from the extremely ambitious and radically new national objectives expressed in the Truman Doctrine, as well as lack of precision about the Agency's purpose and organization. From 1947 on, the United States undertook, in Truman's words, "to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures." To combat outside pressures, the US tried to develop overnight a secret arm. No problem has plagued us more than how to organize the foreign policy instruments to implement the Truman Doctrine and subsequent commitments abroad. And no agency among the many created has caused more trouble than the CIA.

There is no need to recite the familiar list of failures and "successes" in political warfare. When the CIA has "won," it has often been no more than a victory for the *status quo*, often the propping up of an inadequate foreign government. The CIA may have been "successful" in its interventions in Iran in 1953, Guatemala in 1954, and the Dominican Republic in 1965, but these have been negative "victories." The crisis of the CIA clearly came to a head with the failure of the Bay of Pigs invasion plan in 1961. The "lessons" of this tragic episode have been frequently noted; yet grave doubts persist as to whether they have been properly applied.

That the CIA feels beleaguered is indicated by its apparent attempt to silence its critics, to quietly suggest that to criticize the Agency is to parrot the Communist line. Four years ago, Allen Dulles publicly attacked Andrew Tully's book, *CIA: The Inside Story*, as containing "a good deal of material pulled from far leftist sources." Dulles implied that critics of the CIA end up "quoting Communist propaganda, sometimes maybe [*sic*] without knowing what they were doing." It is one thing to cite errors of fact or judgment in a book; it is quite another for the head of the CIA to attack in this manner a respected journalist without telling us where his facts were wrong. In recent months CIA officials have circulated among a select and powerful few on Capitol Hill, documentary evidence of how Soviet Russia maintains a special "Department of Disinformation" whose function is to discredit the CIA and other American agencies, including the US Information Agency and the FBI. The Soviets, says the CIA, do this in part by circulating or planting outright forgeries or by reprinting from respectable American sources material reflecting unfavorably on the Agency.

The Soviet Union may wish to discredit it, but the CIA has succeeded in gaining a bad name on its own. Foreign service officers overseas refer to some CIA personnel as "spooks," tend to be annoyed by their presence, doubtful about their competence and envious of their apparent affluence. The Pentagon doesn't completely trust it and has gone a long distance in setting up its own partly competitive intelligence arm in the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Defense Intelligence Agency. On Capitol Hill, except among a tiny group (mainly Southern Democrats and Republicans) privy to some of the CIA's secrets, references to the CIA are frequently accompanied by laughter. In academic circles, professors advise their best students to avoid employment with the Agency, advice which is sometimes ignored. The CIA has long been a target of disrespect of both liberals and conservatives, of "McCarthyites" and members of the ADA. At the least, the Agency has a public-relations problem.

As originally set up, the CIA was patterned along the lines of the wartime Office of Strategic Services. It was to be the central coordinator of all foreign information for the President and the National Security Council. It did not replace the Armed Services, the State Department and other intelligence units, but was to perform those functions best performed centrally.

Eventually four major tasks came to be gathered under the CIA roof: (1) research and analysis and the production of the "national intelligence estimate," (2) foreign espionage, (3) counterespionage overseas, and (4) a variety of foreign secret functions best termed political warfare. Merger of these disparate services, not all of them primarily "intelligence" functions evolved gradually in pursuit of the ambitious objectives of the Truman Doctrine and from Communist surprises, such as the Czechoslovakian coup in 1948 and the start of the Korean War in 1950. Allen Dulles came to Washington in 1951 to oversee, as Deputy Director, the formation of the "Plans Division" of the CIA, which became responsible for overseas espionage, counterespionage and secret political action. Here was where the Bay of Pigs plan originated.

Strictly construing the CIA's legislative charter, one might argue that it is violating its statutory mandate assigning to it only functions related to "intelligence" matters. For it takes a very loose definition of intelligence to accommodate many of the activities the CIA has engaged in during the past 15 years. There is at least a firm ground here for Congress to reopen the question of the CIA's proper functions. Was it not, for example, a basic mistake from the start to combine such disparate duties as research and analysis, overseas espionage, counterespionage, clandestine political action as well as paramilitary, counterrevolutionary missions?

The organization and management of the CIA have been the subject of six major governmental studies. One of the most thorough was that of a Hoover Commission task force in 1955, headed by General Mark Clark. Its public report noted the CIA's freedom from outside surveillance of operations and fiscal accounts. "There is always the danger," said the report, "that such freedom from restraints could inspire laxity and abuses which might prove costly to the American people." The Clark task force recommended both congressional and Presidential watchdogs. Congress failed to follow this advice. A Presidential board of outside consultants was created, but over the years it has appeared to function more as a polite alumni visiting committee than as a vigorous watchdog.

Shake-up at the CIA

After the Bay of Pigs, President Kennedy ordered a special investigation of the invasion's failure. The investigators included Robert F. Kennedy and General Maxwell Taylor, but in a strange ceremony of self-investigation it also included Allen Dulles and Admiral Arleigh Burke. The aftermath was a thorough, if delayed, shake-up of the CIA leadership. President Kennedy tightened up review procedures over the CIA, instructing his aides, particularly McGeorge Bundy, to review more closely proposed CIA operations. Kennedy also transferred primary responsibility for any future paramilitary operations from the CIA to the Pentagon. But the Agency retained and still retains, to the disappointment of many observers, operating responsibility for espionage, counterespionage overseas and covert political action.

Shortly before his death, President Kennedy had denied that the CIA was operating independently overseas. Referring to Vietnam, he stated bluntly that the CIA was operating "under my instructions." At about the same time a squabble developed among the military, the State Department and the Agency, and Ambassador Lodge ordered home the pro-Diem CIA "station chief," John Richardson. Although Kennedy had voted for a Joint Congressional Committee on Intelligence in an unsuccessful Senate move in 1956, he no longer favored such a proposal. He was, he said, "well satisfied" with existing controls. His true concern is revealed by the fact that a few days before his death he was in the process of creating a task force to survey the global intelligence and other secret operational activities of the United States, to improve coordination and efficiency. Like most previous studies, however, the intelligence community was again to investigate itself. The three-man task force represented only the State Department, the Pentagon and the CIA. It remained for President Johnson to receive the report and no publicity was given it.

It is time for a full-scale public inquiry, covering all categories of government support, direct and indirect, for foreign intelligence and research. Focus should be upon the major intelligence agencies – CIA, Defense Intelligence Agency, National Security Agency and Department of State. But a hard look needs to be taken

---

HARRY HOWE RANSOM *teaches political science at Vanderbilt and is the author of* Central Intelligence and National Security *and* American Foreign Policy Reader.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

also at the sponsorship of research by such organizations as the Agency for International Development, the Armed Services, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and others.

The following items might be placed on the agenda of such an inquiry:

1. *Organization* – There is strength in the argument that espionage, counterespionage and clandestine political action overseas need to be under unified direction and control. But of questionable validity is the combining of all this with the massive research and analysis performed by an agency that can be called properly an *intelligence* agency. The present arrangement has made it impossible to maintain secrecy for that which ought to be secret; has made it difficult to recruit high-quality personnel for research and analysis; and has prompted serious duplication and conflict as one agent trips on another's cloak and dagger. Not only has a large and possibly duplicating Defense Intelligence Agency grown up in the Pentagon, but the FBI appears to be reasserting its claim for an overseas intelligence role, at least in Latin America, where it engaged in extensive operations in World War II.

2. *Control* – There are difficult problems about where best to place the intelligence function within the policy-making structure. But the most difficult problem involves the control by responsible political authority of espionage, counterespionage and political warfare overseas. Normally the State Department should have a veto in this regard.

Beyond a certain point the secret agent, whether spy, secret propagandist or guerrilla, cannot be controlled. Failure to understand this may in part explain the lack of effective coordination and control under the Eisenhower Administration. Under Kennedy, there was promise of stronger Presidential coordination and leadership. Yet the Bay of Pigs, the greatest public disaster to befall the CIA, revealed continuing weaknesses in concept, command and control. The State Department remained in the shadows, not exercising proper authority, while the Pentagon and the CIA were in the forefront, playing an ill-defined role. As Theodore Sorensen recalls, Kennedy felt that State had a "built-in inertia which deadened initiative and that its tendency toward excessive delay obscured determination." A question to probe is to what extent the "CIA problem" may be a State Department problem.

3. *Cover* – Secret warriors and intelligence agents must often shield their true identity, purpose and operations. What is the proper use of cover in a democratic society? One shocking example of how far the CIA has got into the habit of infiltrating other American overseas agencies for the purpose of "cover" is the Peace Corps. In the Corps' formative days, a deliberate and stout effort was required to forestall CIA attempts to infiltrate it. This threat was successfully resisted. But it is astounding that the CIA threat existed, in the face of Communist claims that the Peace Corps was no more than an espionage front.

How far should the CIA be allowed to go in using for cover the diplomatic service, foreign economic aid missions including university-operated technical assistance missions in foreign countries and other agencies? Equally serious questions are raised by the CIA's invasion of the domestic private sector, its secret use of foundations, universities, publishers and others for the Agency's purposes. Most universities undertaking government-financed defense research have done so openly.

Poisoning the Academic Wells

But that which only pretends to be open, or in which the true support is falsified, raises serious questions. Such camouflage can poison the academic wells, just as it can spoil the way for the American professor innocently seeking to gather data in scholarly research overseas. The Center for International Studies at MIT was at its founding financed in part by the Central Intelligence Agency. But its links to the CIA were not publicly revealed in 1951-52. It could be said that MIT was providing "cover" for the CIA. This kind of arrangement was abandoned by MIT after a few years. Yet one is forced to wonder what other academic research institutes, then or now, have provided "cover."

One of the greatest dangers of a Cold War mentality is that it tends to ape the adversary. Certainly our scholars, books, foundations, universities and others in the private sector must remain free of suspicion that they are available for use as "cover" by secret agencies. Hopefully we have not reached a point of no return.

4. *Secrecy* – The CIA Director is responsible "for protecting intelligence sources and methods from unauthorized disclosure." Even with secrecy oaths, binding after employment with the CIA, lie-detector tests as commonplace personnel routine and "top secret" labels profusely applied, the CIA has been patently unsuccessful in keeping its proper secrets. Combining under one roof, research and analysis and covert strategic services requires a blanket of secrecy over the entire Agency. The blanket has proved to be full of holes. One important reason for this has been a lack of respect for the Agency's efficiency among journalists, on Capitol Hill and in the State Department. Another reason may be found in Allen Dulles' lack of a passion for anonymity while CIA chief, particularly during Eisenhower's reign. More recent directors, John McCone and now Admiral William F. Raborn, have, commendably, gone about their job more quietly. Nevertheless, at a press conference in January, 1964, CIA spokesmen gave their estimates of Soviet economic growth rates to demonstrate that Russia was falling behind expectations. Why the CIA as the source? The Agency was,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

at best, doing the job of (a) the White House, (b) the State Department or (c) the nation's propaganda agency.

America has worked out reasonably well the ground rules for civil-military relations. Popular novels and movies to the contrary, the military "man on horseback" (or piloting a B-52) poses no great contemporary threat to civilian higher authority. But the proper place and control of so-called intelligence agents and activities are problems not yet solved. Complacency or the unchecked rule of Parkinson's Law in this field can ruin us.

Radicals on the March

But Where to, and by What Route?

by Andrew Kopkind

Thirty thousand people marched in Washington to seek peace in Vietnam. They blazoned "peace" on banners, proclaimed it from platforms and demanded it in pamphlets. Whereupon, the Administration began to lay plans for the next escalation of the Vietnam conflict into a major war in Asia. No logical connection need be drawn between the two events; it remains that the protests of the last seven months – bearded or beardless – have been largely irrelevant to what official decisions are made.

There may have been some who came to Washington during the Thanksgiving weekend with hopes of influencing Vietnam policy. Few had them when they left. The older, respectable protesters who came out to demonstrate in the SANE march saw plainly enough that 30,000 voices, or votes, is not much of a bite out of President Johnson's consensus on the war. The students, who have been at the anti-war game since last spring, were reacting for the most part out of chronic anger. They had lost most illusions of their power a long time ago.

But there was more to the weekend than the Saturday march, and there were other consequences than despair. In the development of the radical politics of the last few years – the movement of civil rights workers, war protesters, students and organizers of the poor – the weekend was an informal first Party Congress of the "New Left." When it was clear that all the elements of the political left, both old and new, would be in town, events began to proliferate. There was a convention of more than a hundred national and local end-the-war organizations grouped under the loose National Coordinating Committee. So many members of the larger student groups were in town that they were able to hold their own caucuses and conferences. One day was spent discussing the possibilities of bringing the radical students and the older liberal reformers together for joint political action.

This broad encampment of the left was diffused in Negro churches, expensive hotels, under trees on the Mall and in scattered apartments all over Washington. And over all there was a mood of uncommon pessimism. The activities of the radicals have not been able to keep up with the evolution of their rhetoric. The civil rights effort, both South and North, has been stymied for months; there is no obvious strategy for integration of the Negro and white communities after the legal barriers are removed. The students find they have no workable program for effecting the changes, on campus or off, that their analysis tells them are necessary to broaden democratic participation; authority seems everywhere to be consolidating itself. The organizers in the ghettoes cannot move from the small victories to major alterations in political power; how can the leap be made from street and block organizations and the incorporation of a few poor people on anti-poverty boards to changing the political life of a city? Above all, the war protesters can do nothing to end the war.

It is almost impossible to exaggerate their concern with that war. The young people of "the movement" make no polite protest; they rage against the war because they see it as the embodiment of all they are fighting in American society. It is a product of "the system" from which they are alienated. It is a system which will not hear the voice of the poor in a world

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which is mostly poor, and which will not allow even to the rich the right to affirm in their own lives their own values, rather than the values of the institutions they serve. Now their alienation is complete.

This frustration is particularly apparent in the tension between the radicals and the liberals, such as those who planned the SANE march. People and events do not come in neat boxes and well-defined categories. But the New Left does exist in some recognizable ways. It is not easy; "it's like digging Bartok or Bird when you've been listening to Bach all your life," an older observer said. Bach is "the system": "good liberals" in Congress, fair-housing laws, slowly desegregating schools, slum clearance, more college buildings and higher salaries for teachers, negotiated settlements for wars, and much more. The new tunes are more jangling: power blocs of the poor, all-Negro third parties, "freedom schools," a student voice in college policy, sexual "liberation," rich mixtures of rich and poor in housing and schools, support of popular revolutions throughout the world, and again, much more. Some objectives of the different outlooks converge, and others do not. Styles of action and modes of behavior are totally disparate.

Examining Their Helplessness

Thinking such thoughts, or at least assuming them, the young people began arriving in Washington on the eve of Thanksgiving. The next day, when most others were eating their turkeys in Norman Rockwell tableaux, the student war protesters were meeting in a church called the Lincoln Memorial Temple, in the capital's vast Negro ghetto. The National Coordinating Committee convention was, in effect, a convenient way to examine the extent of their helplessness. They had come to ask each other how to end the war and they were stumped for an answer. They had scheduled workshops to discuss anti-draft programs, protests, political pressure, anti-Red-baiting methods, civil disobedience and the like. But after four days, no one had proposed a plan of action that had a hope of success. The delegates were reduced to sterile factional fighting on matters of procedure and organizational structure, a classic symptom of political impotence.

In many ways, all of them unpleasant, the convention of the National Coordinating Committee was a recreation of the sectarianism of the left of the 'thirties. Middle-aged radicals at the sessions – there were only a few among the hundreds barely past teen-age – must have been possessed of a dreadful *déjà vu*. By their leaflets they were known. There were the Trotskyists – all 28 flavors. There were the Stalinists, and to bring matters up to date, the Maoists, the Russian revisionists, the Castroites and the various shadings in between. A tall, solemn girl in a dark blue dress took the rostrum at one point in the proceedings and announced herself as the representative of the American Committee for the Fourth International. The students look puzzled; the old radicals remembered.

But the 'thirties-style ideologues did not represent a majority of the students in town, most of whom eschewed the older styles for the new fashions in leftism; they would claim to believe in "participatory democracy," or something of the sort, if anyone was square enough to ask. Many had allegiance to the Students for a Democratic Society, the largest new political grouping, with 3,000 or more members and 110 chapters on college campuses. Others may not have liked the SDS organization, but they shared some of the same points of view and styles of conduct – a free-wheeling, open view of politics, with emphasis on values and not on ideology. Up to now, their view of political reality did not include a clear picture of what the traditional leftists looked like. Trotskyists were like vampires – creatures with foreign accents seen late at night in old movies from their parents' era. Suddenly, they came face-to-face with the "Trots" in the same room, and lo and behold! they were young people like themselves, concerned with the same issues (the war). But now, in a series of baffling "plenary sessions" of the convention, the "Trots" were trying to "take over" the organization, form their own national organization and control the Vietnam protest! And they were doing it not in order to deliver the protest movement into the hands of some hideous international conspiracy, but merely to do things their way, and to use it to increase their own power.

Perhaps in that distant day when the New Left sounds like Bach, and graduate students write about radicalism in the 'sixties as they do now about the 19th Century, the intricacies of the National Coordinating Committee convention will be catalogued. At this point, it is enough to say that it was a tangle of conflicting ideas on the uses of a very small amount of power. If the convention had been the whole New Left, it could have smothered the SDS-type students. But in the unstructured, pluralistic style of the new politics, the SDS people coped with the situation by avoiding it. They stopped going to the convention sessions. A few who were more interested in studying the zoology of sectarian politics stayed behind to raise objections where necessary, and the Trotskyist factions and some independent allies went off to fail in forming a new national organization on the "peace issue." The New Left went back to their own organizations, like SDS, which have the virtue of identification with many issues, and stand a better chance of surviving the defeat of the war protest.

For those radical democrats of SDS (as the organization's president, Carl Oglesby, calls them) it was all an educating experience. And if there is any future to "the movement" – from the student radicals to those be-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

leaguered souls in government agencies working for participation of poor people in federal programs – the confrontation of the New Left with the inheritors of the old ideologists is an important milestone. The students of the new styles learned that the forms organizations take mean something to what they can do, and what attacks they can withstand. Some of the SDS members think that they can muddle through a social revolution with a movement structured as tightly as a bull session at a freedom house in Mississippi (and if they can't, it is no use revolting). But if they are to be taken seriously, they will have to be more than "students for a *small* society," as one cynic suggested.

The experience of the National Coordinating Committee convention had shown some of the SDS and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee activists that the old revolutionists were as boring as most of the speakers at the SANE march. The students want to work, not just talk. But a willingness to work does not tell them how, or where, or even why. They must define their methods. The "hang-up" (in the students' terms) is strategy. SNCC has been slowed in the South because the students are not able to devise the next grand strategy. What is to follow the sit-ins, the Mississippi Summer Project, voter registration and the Freedom Democrats' convention and congressional challenges? The movement in the rest of the country has the same hang-up. The problem of how far the radicals can go in accepting liberal forms of action (two-party politics, government welfare programs, the Peace Corps and the like) and remain truly radical, and not just reformist, continues to be the central issue of the new politics.

Deflating Myths

The tension revealed itself all during the weekend. At a series of discussions, or rather long-play seminars, SDS members scrutinized their own organization and tried to deflate the myths they have been accepting as reality for some time. SDS's singular lack of response since the big peace march it staged in Washington last April (a referendum of the membership canceled the anti-draft program), has diluted all its other efforts. The SDS community organizing projects in Northern slums are suffering from the war protest frustration, as well as from the too-slow development of strategists. In any case, if SDS is to move out of its war-induced lethargy, the young radicals have to find ways to express their ideas. The title of one of their working papers at the meetings suggests a way: "from protest to radical politics."

There is a growing understanding that the activists have to join on-going fights, too; they cannot just pick new ones. Some of the community organizers in urban slums are beginning to ask how their goals can converge with the war on poverty. At the same time (as in the SDS project in a Newark ghetto), they want to effect changes in the poverty programs themselves – to increase the participation of the poor to the point of predominance, perhaps. In some congressional districts, radical activists are building community organizations around a liberal-reformer politician. That is "radical politics" insofar as the community organization will be based on the power of the members to force action (from street-paving, say, to anti-war positions adopted by the politician.)

The radical criticism of the liberal reformist idea is that all the reformers want is intelligent politicians with reasonable policies to run the machine. The radicals believe that good men in bad structures do not bring enough change, and that they certainly will not extend democracy. In yet another meeting of the weekend, SNCC and SDS students, having recently disposed of Trotskyism by turning their backs on it, turned to, or perhaps *on*, liberalism. They met with the older activists who shared some of their analysis and methods, and with political workers from reform movements and coalitions around the country. The results, predictably, were inconclusive. The radicals would like to convince the liberals to give up reform politics, and join "the movement."

The movement already represents enough power to interest some conventional politicians. Politicians in Mississippi who want to break the stranglehold of the old establishment will have to deal seriously with the Freedom Democratic Party, which for all its contradictions and weaknesses is a successful instrument of the new politics. Robert Kennedy is said to be interested in seeing what political alliances are possible with movement organizations in New York City; it would certainly suit his strategy of an "opening-to-the-left" to do so. The campaign of Carl Stokes, a Negro candidate for mayor of Cleveland this fall, was in many ways a "movement" election contest, and Stokes came close to defeating the Democratic machine.

It was in the big march itself that the lines between the radicals and the liberals were most sharply drawn.

COMING: *New radicals speak for themselves – a series of personal statements*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The organization of the day was in the hands of the liberals. They believed, or so it seemed, that the "peaceful protest" of 20,000 or 30,000 people from around the country could press President Johnson to find alternatives to a stubborn show of force in Vietnam. They assumed that the President sincerely wanted to extricate the US from the Vietnam tangle, but was prevented from making concessions to the Viet Cong and North Vietnam because of the pressures of domestic politics. Their analogy was to the last "peace movement," of 1961 and 1962, in the days leading up to the test-ban treaty. President Kennedy encouraged that movement, since it brought him support for the policy he wanted to develop.

Consensus Protest

To do the job again, SANE wanted to produce a good public relations march: no beards, no pro-Viet Cong banners, not very much noise, and above all, no politics that could not have been accepted in the Johnson consensus, vintage 1964. Such a reasonable approach, presumably, would convince the President that a great many of the people on whom he depends for love and money would support a rapid, and perhaps face-losing end to the war. It is still in dispute whether or not the SANE organizers at first agreed to use the Washington police to enforce their cleanup campaign for the march – against unauthorized signs and unwelcome slogans. Although in the end beards and "bad politics" were plentiful, SANE had made a lot of marchers feel that they were unwanted.

The liberals' analysis of the Administration's policy and the possibilities for change was frontally assaulted by the radicals. They agreed that the President wanted an end to the war, but after a kind of "winning" that would mean a huge military effort and the devastation of North and South Vietnam. The current policy was to them an expression of anti-Communist ideology in foreign affairs, and an almost automatic response to popular revolutions which threaten American political and economic interests in the underdeveloped world. The pressure necessary to force – or allow – the Administration to settle for a "no-win" war could not be measured by tens of thousands of politely, slightly agitated people carrying unobjectionable signs for a few hours around Washington. It would take, the radicals believed, a mass movement of tens of millions, such as clearly was not abuilding; or the threat of widely disruptive disorders based on anti-war sentiment, such as was not likely; or the slow accretion of unhappiness and disgust at the mounting casualties and the cost of war, which had little to do with marches or protests, but would be a function of the escalation of the conflict.

The marches could be helpful in developing a permanent protest movement, not to end the war in Vietnam, but to end (as Richard Rothstein of SDS said) "the seventh war from now." But that movement would not be advanced by fussy attention to respectability. The experience of protest can turn the slightly interested into the deeply committed; there were many people at the Washington Monument last month who first tasted political activism in the civil rights March on Washington in 1963. A lot more had the experience of Selma, or merely the signing of a petition or the anti-war side of a teach-in behind them. If the protest is manipulated and protesters are kept strictly in line, that process of radicalization is not so likely.

That, at least, is how the student radicals saw things, and although they marched along with the safer and SANEr grown-ups, their hearts were not in it. One result was the blandest of all possible demonstrations. Not many people were permanently converted to the need for continuing protest and long-term action. One could imagine the Administration policy-makers being as bored with the march as the participants. In a hundred football stadiums on the same afternoon there was infintely more excitement. There was a theory bruited about in the crowd that the speakers were deliberately chosen for their soporific effect, or at least that they were instructed to sing their politics in the rhythms of a Bach lullaby. Whatever the reason, people were demonstrably asleep until the penultimate speech of the long afternoon. Then Carl Oglesby gave the march, and for that matter the whole weekend, its definition and a new dimension. He was the only "movement" speaker; as SDS president he spoke for the new radical politics as well as anyone could. While he may not have transformed the New Left, he at least gave it new life.

The movement has survived so far in leaps, from crisis to crisis. The last, and probably most important, was the challenge of the Mississippi Freedom Democrats to be seated at the Democratic National Convention in August, 1964. The Mississippi Negroes rejected a compromise then that would have given them "tokenism": respectability but not power. They could go home and build a mass movement on that rejection.

Oglesby's speech likewise rejected compromise. He accused the liberals of underpinning the elements of the very system which the New Left attacked: the military and industrial "corporatism" which keeps too many unemployed and foreign intervention frequent, the anti-Communist ideology which inhibits the formation of peaceful policies, the welfarism which keeps the poor alive but powerless and, in the end, still poor. The war in Vietnam, Oglesby pointed out to liberals in the audience, came after three decades of liberal government: "Maybe we have here two quite different liberalisms: one authentically humanist, the other not so human after all."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"We do not say these men [Johnson, his advisers, the liberals in the biggest corporations] are evil. We say rather that men can be divided from their compassion by the institutional system that inherits us all. Generation in and out, we are put to use. People become instruments. Generals do not hear the screams of the bombed, and sugar executives do not see the misery of the cane-cutters: for to do so is to be that much less the general, that much less the executive," Oglesby told the marchers.

And the war in Vietnam: like it or not, it was a real revolution – a dirty, brutal, contradictory, uncompromising, authentic revolution. And there is no political percentage, or moral justification, in America's opposing it. "Revolutions don't take place in velvet boxes," he said. "It is only the poets who make them lovely." Oglesby offered that "ideological" basis for protesting the war: not support or apologies for the Viet Cong, but an affirmation of their right to revolution. It was non-Communist, not anti-Communist, as the New Left students have been trying to explain all along. His speech gave the students the intellectual transfusion they needed. The long and diffuse meetings of the weekend showed them a way – building small movements around the country and acquiring power (in slums, ghettoes, on campuses, in the black South, among the middle-class who feel powerless and unspoken for) – to end "the seventh war from now on."

"Those allies of ours in the government," Oglesby asked, "are they really our allies? If they are, then they don't need advice, they need constituencies; they don't need study groups, they need a movement. And if they are not, then all the more reason for building that movement with a most relentless conviction."

When Oglesby left the rostrum the crowd rose from the grass and clapped and shouted. It was the electric moment of the afternoon, and Sanford Gottlieb, organizer of the SANE march, knew it. He had been walking a tightrope between the old liberals and the new radicals all week. Perhaps it was what the speaker had said, and perhaps it was the way he said it; Gottlieb retrieved Oglesby from the wings of the platform, brought him back to the microphone, and raised up his arm in a victory salute.

More Lost Indians

A Trip to the Sioux Country

by James Ridgeway

Pine Ridge, South Dakota

Pine Ridge Reservation is a 5,000-square-mile expanse of rolling prairie and badlands along the bottom tier of South Dakota where the Oglala Sioux were finally penned up after battling the US cavalry across the plains. It is one of the biggest reservations in the country. Ten thousand Sioux live spread out along the creek bottoms, or in one of the half-dozen little settlements. The largest of these is the village of Pine Ridge, which has a population of 2,000. Most of the people still live in one- or two-room shacks, or if they are lucky in one of the frame houses built by public housing. This is the seat of the superintendent of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which runs a large school. Up on the hill, the Public Health Service maintains a free hospital.

There are no regular restaurants or motels at Pine Ridge, but you can get a meal at the Red Wing Cafe. The juke box there can be made to play "Heart Break Tepee" or the "Sioux Anthem." The older Indians, who mostly dress as cowboys, creak into town in their beaten up cars in the early morning, and hang around the Indian Bureau or the headquarters of the Oglala Sioux tribe where Enos Poorbear, the president, has his office. Sometimes a tribal council is in session which provides entertainment, but more likely they will wander into the tribal court, where minor crimes are tried. Major crimes are tried in federal court. The day I stumbled into this narrow courtroom (it smells heavily of lavatory disinfectant and the windows are obscured by barbed wire), Judge Wop Ladeau, a short, white-haired man who appeared to be missing most of his teeth, was sprawled out across the top of his bench. His mouth was wide open and he listened in fascination as Betty Fire Thunder described how Ella Thunder Bull created disorder at the Allen school where Betty

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

had peacefully been popping popcorn one night prior to a dance. Ella suddenly burst from the kitchen where she had been drinking, accused Betty of making faces at her, and then yelled, "I am going to knock the shit out of you." But Ella got sidetracked and tried to beat up Agnes Bad Wound instead, and the worst that happened was that the women were made to dance with people they did not like. The court spent the better part of the afternoon pondering this matter and was in recess when I left. Numerous defense attorneys were wandering around the place, although as it turned out anyone could be a defense attorney and it was a good way to pick up $8, the fee for taking a case. The main idea was to trick the prosecuting attorney, a harried looking woman, by getting rid of her material witnesses. Both the court and the tribal council are conducted in English and Lakota, the native tongue.

The Indians have a certain fondness for the late President Kennedy and his brother, Robert. They have letters of the former which they would like to sell, the price being right. And they are sure that when the documentary evidence of bungled management is laid before the latter, he will clean everything up. (They apparently are referring to his role as Attorney General.) The Oglala Sioux are regarded as the great masters of passive resistance. They pay no attention to foolish ideas coming from outside. A local school teacher took charge of the local civil defense effort and tried to get the Indians to build bomb shelters; they paid little heed. In a fury, he put around the story that while one in every 17 Americans was a Communist, the rate at the reservation was considerably higher. His efforts ended in failure.

The government still views the Indians on reservations as wards who one day will improve themselves enough to manage their own affairs. This is a goal which amuses the older Sioux, since to them the government people are servants; the goods and services dispensed are part of the price paid for land taken away in the wars of the last century. They act like exiled European aristocrats, in this case, waiting to leave the prairie and go back into the Black Hills – the prized possession that was granted them in 1868 in return for a promise to live on reservations and stop molesting white settlers. Then gold was discovered in the hills, and they were taken away in 1877. A claim for their return was begun with Charles Evans Hughes in the 1920's and endures still in the Indian Claims Commission where after perhaps another five years of argument it may be decided. At best, each member of the different Sioux tribes could hope for not much more than a few thousand dollars, and even that is an uncertain prospect.

Since the turn of the century, the government sought first to drive the younger and talented Indians off the reservations, and then, more recently, to lure them away, in the hope of intermingling them with white people and thereby getting rid of this unpleasant problem altogether. A residue, however, remained, and it has now sprouted into a sort of inexperienced, and uneducated middle class that is trying to govern a population of old people and little children. The fortunes of its leaders are decided in the elected tribal council. They teeter constantly on the brink of despair, represented by the whisky bottle; what energy and hope for the future they may have is generated largely through Richard Schifter, the tribe's Washington lawyer, who helped them get through a public housing project, and more recently brought in half a million dollars of poverty funds.

Going Away to School

The Bureau of Indian Affairs pursues a policy of improving education and at the same time developing the economic base of the reservations. While the Bureau maintains elementary day schools in various settlements scattered around the reservation that are accessible to most of the students, it runs only one high school at Pine Ridge. The school bus only goes out nine miles from town, and therefore a good many of the thousand or so students board. The school is modern and the dormitories look pleasant enough, a lot pleasanter than the little shacks out on the prairie; nonetheless, the Bureau school is a hangover from a policy pursued at the turn of the century when the government decided the best way to deal with the Indians would be to take the children away, put them in boarding schools, and civilize them that way. This did not stop Indians from being Indians, but it did contribute to the breakdown of the Indian family. One teacher told me the main difference in dealing with Indian children was the family's absolute dread of education. They knew it was meant to break up the family. Large numbers of children now drop out of eighth grade rather than go away to high school. Children at Pine Ridge are above the national level in achievement at the fourth-grade level, hold their own up to the eighth grade, and then abruptly slide downhill. This is the time when they must go on to high school, and when the bleakness of their chance in life dawns on them. There is no school board, so that the parents have little reason to take an interest in education.

An increasing number of youngsters are finishing high school, however, and are going on to vocational training or to college. The Bureau has a relocation program, and last year it assisted 215 people to get out to West Coast cities, usually Los Angeles or Oakland, finding them lodging, getting them into job training, and practically guaranteeing them jobs. Most of the trainees are between 18 and 25. Still the ties to the reservations are strong and about 40 percent come back.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The reservation school system may have improved some in recent years, but teachers complain that their graduates cannot express themselves very well. Last year 17- and 18-year-olds were put to reading *The New York Times*, but it was over their heads, and the project was dropped.

The Indian Bureau's economic development policies at Pine Ridge are fairly recent and as of now have not produced much new enterprise. About half the work force is unemployed. Families are large. The mean annual family income is below $900. In the lean months of February and March, one-third of the reservation population is on welfare.

Much of the reservation is rangeland. Indians always have been good at herding cattle, but poor as business managers. They have ranched off and on, and by the end of the last war a large cattle association flourished. Then the members got greedy and broke up the common cattle herd for individual gain. The enterprise floundered. About half the rangeland now is rented to white ranchers. Small portions of farmlands are mostly leased out. Periodically there is talk of starting ranching again in a big way but the costs are high and the profits slender. The Sioux also have worked in the past as migrant laborers, but machinery has cut back this employment. A fish-hook factory came on the reservation in 1960, and while the labor turnover was heavy during the first two years, workers have now settled down and have proved to be adept. But at peak periods it employs only 240 people.

One out of every four tourists who come through South Dakota is supposed to tow a trailer behind his car, and the Indian Bureau has been working to build campsites to attract them. There are no restaurants or motels on the reservation. William Nye, the man who runs the economic development office at Pine Ridge, has a master plan for capturing a big share of the tourist business that is bringing South Dakota $170 million a year and by 1970 is expected to produce revenues of $700 million. Nye hit on the idea of building a replica of old Fort Phil Kearney, which in 1866 was put up on the Bozeman Trail in what is now Wyoming. The great Sioux chief, Red Cloud, burned it two years later. Nye has the plans for the fort, and when the replica is finished, the old cavalry headquarters will be a restaurant; the guests can stay in the officers' and enlisted men's quarters which will be a motel. The old trading center will become a museum and an arts and crafts center. And the supply sheds will house a factory where the arts and crafts can be made. Each summer a Sioux pageant will be put on to entertain the guests. This project, Nye estimates, might cost half a million dollars. It might be supplemented later on by a dude ranch.

A perhaps more plausible scheme involves making use of the large clay deposits on the reservation. Clay can be used to make pipes that can be used in diversion projects under way along the Missouri River. Richard Schifter in Washington is talking with businessmen about setting up an operation under the new Economic Development Administration, which makes cheap loans.

A major difficulty at Pine Ridge is to keep what little money there now is on the reservation from flowing off. The tribe insists on prohibition on the reservation, thereby guaranteeing profits for saloon keepers at nearby White Clay, Nebraska. When lease money is paid, the Nebraska state highway patrol has been known suddenly to appear and throw up roadblocks outside the reservation, just across state lines. Indians arrested and fined on drunk charges help to swell the community coffers, so the story goes. The tribe now is building a supermarket complex, but many Bureau employees like to shop in Nebraska where there is no sales tax, and where they can get away from Pine Ridge for a few hours Saturday. Indians are heavily in debt to merchants outside the reservation. The tribe at present is suing a store owner in White Clay for unusual lending practices. He gave an Indian credit on purchases, but first made him sign a blank check on a bank where he did not have an account. The store owner then would exact small payments when he could, or in lieu of that let his debtor work it off. At last, the Indian insisted he had paid off the debt. But the store owner said no. He filled in the check, and put it through the bank. The check bounced. The sheriff was called in, and brought a criminal charge against the Indian, threatening to throw him in jail.

The Lost Communities

Out on the prairie there are a handful of little settlements, each one dominated by an elementary school with an adjacent row of neat frame houses where the teachers live. There is apt to be a general store run by a white. The rest of the buildings are one- or two-room log houses, surrounded by rusting heaps of old cars that have been abandoned and stripped of spare parts. Some people still live in tents. Beyond these settlements, along the creek beds and down the gullies are the lost communities: Blackeyes, Red Shirt Table, Lower Medicine Root Community and Potato Creek. Here the people often are old and sickly. At Potato Creek, a cluster of seven or eight shacks on a creek bottom 55 miles north and east of Pine Ridge, I met a man and his wife who were living with three children, and until recently the woman's diabetic mother, in a log shack about 20 feet long by 12 feet wide. The husband had once made a living on a sheep farm in Nebraska, but then he got tuberculosis. The family came back to the free hospital on the reservation. None of them works. The main electric lines run close by, but

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the woman said they could not pay the bills and thus didn't have electricity. Fortunately, there was a spring nearby so they did not have to drink water from the dirty creek bottom. The aged mother had been to the hospital at various times, being sent home with instructions on what to eat. The family lives off surplus commodities, which made the old woman constantly sick. She finally had a stroke and now was back in the hospital. For a while the man and his wife talked about the good days in Nebraska, and then the woman launched into a description of what went on at the Native American Church, a rather larger shack on a nearby hill. People came from miles around Saturday and stayed all night reading the Bible, beating drums and shaking gourds, and chewing peyote. The peyote itself was no good unless you had faith. If you had faith it could work incredible miracles. One time there was an old woman with sores all over her face; they washed her face with a peyote solution and the sores disappeared. Another time a child had been born blind. Its eyelids were gray and all stuck together. The mother prayed hard, and then put a peyote mixture into an eyedropper. She squirted a drop down behind the eyelid, and miraculously the eyes opened and the child could see. People had come from Washington and were so impressed that they were going back to make sure peyote was used all over the country.

No Power or Water

Practically none of the houses on the reservation has electricity. Half of the houses are without wells nearby; poverty program workers are discovering people hauling water 15 miles. Indoor plumbing or telephone service is rare.

The Public Health Service, which runs the hospital and is in charge of a sanitation program, lumbers along under the Indian Sanitation Act which is meant to provide free water works to Indian communities. But each project for each tiny settlement must go through Congress, which means it takes three years to get approval, and no appropriations have been forthcoming recently, so the program is now at a standstill.

There is a great deal of illness at Pine Ridge, and according to the sanitation experts, the quickest way to cut down on the disease rate is to get a toilet and a sink indoors. The infant mortality rate is twice that of the nation's, and infectious diseases among small children are a major problem. The incidence of tuberculosis is 17 times that for the rest of the country. The life expectancy for a person at Pine Ridge is 38 years, compared with 62 years nationally. Because of the lack of bathing, the children commonly have bad sores on their faces.

Part of this may also be due to poor nutrition. Many live on surplus commodities which are low in proteins. (For instance, only enough dried milk is allotted per person to make four quarts of milk per month.) Sometimes the free commodities are not eaten. A Vista worker said she was baby-sitting one night for a white family outside of Kyle, one of the small communities, when an Indian woman came to the door. She wanted to sell some commodities to get money for gas to take a child to Pine Ridge, to the hospital. She apparently made a practice of this.

The birthrate is one-third higher than for the rest of the nation. Dr. Michael Ogden, the man in charge of the hospital at Pine Ridge, explained that if a married woman asks about birth control, she will be told, and if she wants one, will be given an intra-uterine device. The PHS does not inform people about birth control on its own. The intra-uterine device is prescribed only where the woman has had one child. As a general practice, Dr. Ogden was leary of dealing with unmarried women (the illegitimate birthrate is high), but he said each case would have to be decided on its own merits.

Although the hospital has what looks to be a fairly new operating room and there is a surgeon on the staff, Dr. Ogden said the room had not been used since March because of the shortage of nurses. There were 16 positions, and he had only nine nurses on duty. People are flown to Omaha when an operation is necessary. The hospital maintains two station wagons which in the past were used as ambulances, but Dr. Ogden claims he does not have the drivers, and the Indians so badly abused the service, using it as a ruse for getting a free lift into Pine Ridge, that he is unsympathetic to their demands it be resumed. Leo Vocu, an assistant director of the local poverty program, bitterly assails the PHS on this account. He says a middle-aged man died recently of dehydration and diarrhea because the hospital refused to heed a public health nurse's pleas to bring him in. When they did finally go out, Vocu says, it was too late; he died on the way to the hospital.

The policy of developing the economic potential of Indian reservations began with Secretary Stewart Udall. It has run for only five years, and the results are bound to be slow in coming. Steering the course is tricky business since what Udall wants to do is curiously contradictory. The talented young people whom the Bureau tries to educate and then help make a go of it in the outside world are the very ones needed most at home to bring off economic development. The solution to the Indian problem still is dimly seen to lie in pouring the Indians into the big cities where they will intermingle with everyone else. But the city planners are trying to figure out how to get people out of the cramped city and back into the countryside. If the Administration does not pull hard to redevelop these rural areas, it will end up merely fanning the flames in the cities.

This is the second of two articles on American Indians.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mother's Day on the Updike Farm

by Joseph Epstein

The word on John Updike is not yet in. Thus far he remains a victim of the kiss-and-kick system of American reviewing. Similar in consequence to the error of bringing a boxer along too quickly by overmatching him early in his career, this system involves the rapid and exaggerated piling up of encomiums that make for a literary reputation which, just as rapidly and exaggeratedly, is deflated. In Updike's case, before he had time to stop rubbing his cheek where Miss Mary McCarthy had presented him with a fine motherly kiss for his first novel, he received a knee in the groin delivered by Alfred Chester, quickly followed by a solid clop to the abdomen by Norman Podhoretz, and, as a finisher, a nice clean judo chop over the back of the neck by Richard Gilman which would have brought any normal man to his knees. Not Updike. He, apparently, is not awaiting the word. Loved by *The Times*, slashed by *The Trib*, adored by *Harper's* abhorred by *The Nation*, he goes his merry way year after year knocking out book after book.

Of the Farm
by John Updike
(Knopf; $3.95)

If Updike seems less than captive to American criticism, neither is he much enamored of the contemporary national fiction. In a recent essay on the Argentine writer, Jorge Luis Borges, he claims to be looking for a "way out of the dead-end narcissism and downright trashiness of present American fiction." I am not so certain about that dead end or that trashiness, but it seems to me that Updike has already found a way out, and the door through which he has chosen to exit is marked Language. Alone among American novelists of seriousness and of serious production, he is primarily interested in language and its effects. "Language," remarks a young minister in the course of a sermon in his most recent novel, "aërates the barren density of brute matter with the penetrations of the mind, of the spirit." Updike, clearly, has taken the sermon to heart.

Clearly, too, he has the gift of language. It is a gift whose virtues are precision and, sometimes, beauty, and whose vice is glibness. There is, however, often a very fine line between the two. As the man says, all that glitters is not gold. Although he continues to improve as a prospector, Updike is, I fear, not yet the metallurgist he shall have to become if he is to realize his considerable ambitions as a novelist.

Of the Farm is in size a slight novel, a novella really, running to only 174 largely printed, generously margined pages. It is also exceedingly short of compass – four is the number of its characters, 80 acres of farm land in Southeastern Pennsylvania is the total area in which it takes place. That it hasn't much in the way of scope, however, ought not to be accounted a criticism, for Updike has never been quite so interested in spreading out as in boring in. His novel is, in a sense, a love story; its subject is that oldest of old love triangles – that between a man, his wife, and his mother.

And what a mother! If it accomplishes nothing else, Updike's creation of the mother in *Of the Farm* provides a tremendous service for Jewish mothers everywhere. In effect, it lets them off the hook by limning a non-Jewish mother who is a mother's mother, the mother of all mothers. Next to Updike's creation, the mother in Bruce Jay Friedman's novel, *A Mother's Kisses*, for example, seems like a favorite aunt.

Guardian Angels

Each man to his own good angel. This,
A final version of himself, at tea
With God, and weightless now for having dropped
Every pathetic human thing, like dung.

And this, a spirit greedy after wholeness:
Life including death, the unseen figured
In the seen, the far-away brought close;
One hand in heaven, the other fondling earth.

Or this, an earthen genius spring grass
Of heart-felt green, or dropping autumn leaves,
Bright as doubloons, on every ticklish hand;
A household god and any place its home.

This one, a slender supernatural girl,
The belle who always beautifully says, "No,"
And, winged by that refusal, draws her man
To marvels leagues beyond the wide world's end.

And mine? The moody one, who, as you turn,
Is gone, whose absence, like a message, sighs:
"O, I have been all of these and worse: yourself
Meeting yourself with cold, assessing eyes."

LEONARD E. NATHAN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Toward Lexington

The Role of the British Army in the Coming of the American Revolution

By JOHN SHY. A study of the subtle and frequently confused relationship between armed force and political control. Mr. Shy clarifies a number of controversies and uncertainties about the causes of the American Revolution and deepens our understanding of how men on both sides of the Atlantic came to see conflict as unavoidable. 450 pp. $8.50

Atomic Energy Policy in France under the Fourth Republic

By LAWRENCE SHEINMAN. Mr. Sheinman concludes that the French decision to detonate an atomic bomb was made by a relatively small group of people operating outside the mainstream of politics. 268 pp. $6.50

Religion and Politics in Burma

By DONALD EUGENE SMITH. An evaluation of Burmese attempts to relate Buddhism to the ideologies of nationalism, democracy, and socialism; the compatibility of Buddhism with Marxian communism and the long-range effect of Buddhist revival on economic development. 336 pp. $7.50

Zanzibar

Background to Revolution

By MICHAEL F. LOFCHIE. This detailed study of modernization in a plural society analyzes the causes of the revolution in Zanzibar in January, 1964. 320 pp. $7.50

Acción Democrática

Evolution of a Modern Political Party in Venezuela

By JOHN D. MARTZ. Based on documents unavailable in the United States and firsthand interviews with Venezuelan politicians, this study tells the story of the party and its relations with organized labor, the military, and other groups, focusing on the elections of 1958 and 1963. 448 pp. $12.50

Functionalism and World Politics

United Nations Programs Financing Economic Development

By JAMES PATRICK SEWELL. Functionalism in relation to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Finance Corporation, the International Development Association, and the United Nations Special Fund. 336 pp. $6.50

Government and Local Power in Japan, 500 to 1700

A Study Based on Bizen Province

By JOHN WHITNEY HALL. Clear patterns of social, economic and political organization and behavior emerge from this study of a microcosm of Japanese life. Illustrations and maps. 496 pp. $12.50

Princeton University Press

PUBLISHERS OF THE PAPERS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON

For considered ruthlessness, for a propensity to interfere in her son's married life, for an utter inability to simply let go – it is *Of the Farm's* Mrs. Robinson, Sr. two to one.

The novel is told in the first-person singular voice of Mrs. Robinson's 35-year-old son Joey, who, with his recently acquired second wife and eleven-year-old stepson, has come down from New York for a weekend visit with his mother at her farm. Joey Robinson is very Updikean in construction. Which means he is a man of artistic, exquisite, alas sometimes quivering sensibility. His basic unit of thought is the metaphor, and he has that kind of peripheral vision which allows him to pick similes out of the corner of his eye. His mother had always thought Joey had the makings of a poet, had desperately wanted him to be one, but instead he works, as he puts it, "for a firm which arranges educational programs for corporations on such matters as tax minimization, overseas expansion, federal contract acquisition, and automation. My specialty is advertising dollar distribution, which is to say, broadly, corporate image distribution."

Joey deals in images – that is to say, things which are not really there. Moreover, in his extreme susceptibility to women, he is not merely not his own man, but, when you get right down to it, not quite a man at all. Hence, to both his mother and his wife Peggy, he is neither Joseph nor Joe, but Joey – the perennial boy, God love him.

From the novel's first pages Mrs. Robinson hovers over everything, like a threatening cloud. The relationship between her and her son is one of those impossibly tangled love-hate affairs. Pulling up to the farm in his car, Joey sights his "mother's shape . . . [which] had emerged from the house and was moving through the blue shadow of the hemlock that guarded the walk." And not much later: "Her spirit had acquired a troubling resonance, a murky subtlety doubly oppressive out of doors – as if in being surrounded by her farm we had been plunged into the very territory of her thoughts." We are in Mother Country.

From here through dinner, mild enough conversation, and the bedtime departure of his wife and stepson, it is – via Updike's commanding technical facility – only a short time before Joey

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

joins his mother in the living room, their first moments alone together, and she announces:

> "'I'm surprised at you' . . . ."
> "'At what?'"
> "'That you would need a stupid woman [his wife] to give you confidence'."

Not only does Mrs. Robinson, Sr. have pictures of her son's first wife around the house, but she makes a point of stirring up his guilt over his leaving his three children to marry his second wife. Meanwhile, in her spare time she does her best to alienate Joey's stepson from his mother. And in a nice touch of cool contempt the dear woman refers to the bikini in which her daughter-in-law bathes as an "Iowa Jima." For his part, the best that poor Joey can muster in rebellion: "I'm 35 and I've been through hell and I don't see why that old lady has to have such a hold over me. It's ridiculous. It's degrading."

Yet Joey seems to have a taste for degradation; either that or an exceptionally high tolerance for it. For as the emotional struggle between his mother and his wife progresses from a guerrilla war of innuendo to an unlimited battle of open invective, he keeps his uncomfortable ground of neutrality. "You don't stand up to anything," the wife remarks at one of several points of disgust. "Yet let us slug it out and try to make peace."

Joey may be spineless, all right, but spinelessness has perhaps never before been propped up with such eloquence as Updike brings to it. At one point in the novel, he leaves the battleground to go off to cut the weeds in his mother's fields, and Updike's description of the process is of a brilliance that one is not likely to find in any other American novelist. Here is the last paragraph from the episode:

> "Black-eyed susans, daisy fleabane, toadflax, goldenrod, butter-and-eggs each flower of which was like a tiny dancer leaping, legs together, scudded past the tractor wheels. Stretched scatterings of flowers moved in a piece, like the heavens, constellated by my wheels' revolution, on my right; and lay as drying fodder on my left. Midges existed in stationary clouds that, though agitated by my interruption, did not follow me, but resumed their self-encircling conversation. Crickets sprang crackling away from the wheels; butterflies loped through their tumbling universe and bobbed above the flattened grass as the hands of a mute concubine would examine, flutteringly, the corpse of her giant lover. The sun grew higher. The metal hood acquired a nimbus of heat waves that visually warped each stalk. The tractor body was flecked with foam and I, rocked back and forth on the iron seat shaped like a woman's hips, alone in nature, as hidden under the glaring sky as at midnight, excited by destruction, weightless, discovered in myself a swelling which I idly permitted to stand, thinking of Peggy. My wife is a field."

The other side of the coin is the by-now famous Updike excesses. There are moments when a reader, dodging his way through the lush lawns of simile and metaphor, feels something like Joey atop his tractor cutting through a field, not of woods, but of marzipan. So much the lover of language, so fascinated by his gift for it, Updike is prone to fall captive to it – and often at the expense of his narrative. In the midst of a description of lovemaking, say, he is not opposed to postponing orgasm to devote a few sentences to capturing the play of light from the moon upon the floor. Only a poet could command such patience!

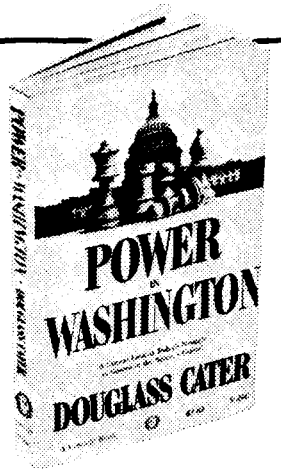
But back to Joey and his adventures at Disaster Farm. His weekend, as it turns out, is more revelatory than he would have expected. Throughout he finds himself comparing his wife and his mother – and the balance does not come out in his wife's favor: ". . . while I was fitting the tractor back into its narrow stable Peggy continued across the lawn into the house, walked slowly across the stretch of grass where I had seen my mother outrace my father." The lowest point of this sad song – which might go by the title "I Failed to Marry a Girl Just Like the Girl that Married Dear Old Dad" – comes when Joey, in conversation with his mother, admits of his wife:

> "'She *is* stupid.' I am always a little behind my mother, always arriving at the point from which she has departed. She smiled, seeing me sitting upright, excited like a boy by my discovery of the obvious. 'Remarkably stupid.'"

Finally, to cap off the perfectly wretched weekend, Mrs. Robinson, Sr. undergoes an attack of an old lung ailment. Frightened by this sharp reminder of her mortality, Joey, characteristically, goes after his wife for help. "As I ran across the lawn," he notes, "my stomach grovelled with that conviction, remembered from childhood, of unworthiness, of guilt, of the world being a colorful final parade that I had somehow missed and that, as I raced through the darkening streets of Olinger, I could dimly overhear but could not find."

Nor, one might add, is Joey ever likely to find it. Although his mother does not die, it is apparent that her death can't be far off. As the novel ends, Joey is preparing for the return to New York. His marriage will probably last, if that is the word. But in the final analysis he is his mother's son, and will continue to be, in death as in life, her very own poet manqué.

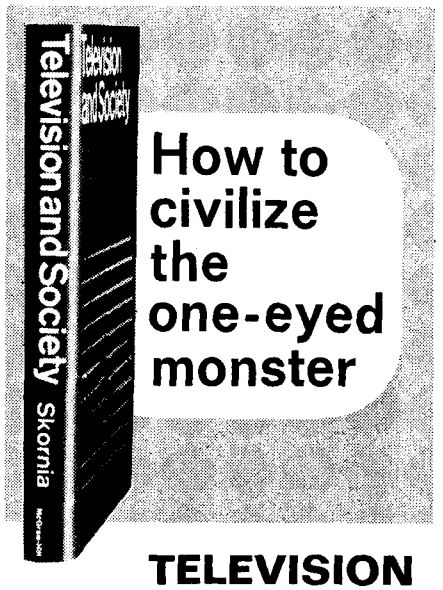
NEW VINTAGE PAPERBACK



POWER IN WASHINGTON
By Douglass Cater. A critical look at the key institutions, functions and personalities in today's struggle to govern.

$1.65, now at your bookstore
VINTAGE BOOKS are published by
ALFRED • A • KNOPF and RANDOM HOUSE
For catalog, write Random House,
457 Madison Ave., N. Y. 10022

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



TELEVISION AND SOCIETY

An Inquest and Agenda for Improvement

by ***Harry J. Skornia***
Professor of Radio and TV, University of Illinois

"In TELEVISION AND SOCIETY, a searing indictment of our system of broadcasting, Harry J. Skornia exhibits a savage rage that I find tonic on a subject normally treated either with caution or cynical indifference." —CHARLES A. SIEPMAN, *N. Y. Times Book Review.*

Harry Skornia flings the gauntlet before the business interests that control TV and are out for the fast buck. He contends that "a public service of untold possibilities for human betterment has been corrupted by a handful of selfish and greedy men in top management positions."

His sensible program for practical and possible changes should be read and discussed by everyone seriously interested in the future of television.

"One of the most honest appraisals of television's problems and one of the few studies which is concerned with the future of television. I highly recommend it." —PAUL FRUMKIN, *producer, WBKB-TV* in the *Chicago Tribune.*

$7.50 at all bookstores

McGRAW-HILL

Toward the Therapeutic State

by Thomas S. Szasz

Valeriy Tarsis is a literary critic, translator, and writer. In 1960 he sent an English publisher a manuscript which was highly critical of life in Khrushchev's Russia. This work, *The Bluebottle,* appeared in England in October, 1962, under the pseudonym Ivan Valeriy. Actually, Tarsis had opposed the use of a pseudonym and made no secret in Russia of having sent his book abroad. In August, 1962, two months before the appearance of *The Bluebottle* in London, Tarsis was arrested and committed to the Koshchenko psychiatric hospital in Moscow. News of his fate soon reached the West and an article about it by the British journalist Edward Crankshaw appeared in *The Observer* for February, 1963. In March, Tarsis was released.

Ward 7, An Autobiographical Novel
by Valeriy Tarsis
translated by Katya Brown
(Dutton; $3.50)

Ward 7 is Tarsis' account of what happened to him in the "mental hospital." It was written shortly after his release and smuggled to England in the summer of 1964. In this autobiographical novel, Valentine Alamazov, a Russian writer, is arrested and incarcerated in a psychiatric institution for the same offense as Tarsis had been; he is held in the notorious Russian insane asylum, the "Villat Kanatchikov," the nickname in Moscow for the Koshchenko Hospital; and he is released after protests from the West.

This, in bare outline, is the plot of *Ward 7* and the story of the events behind it. The question is: What shall we make of it?

I have seen many English and American comments on this book; all deal with it as political criticism. Nearly a year before the book's American publication, such an interpretation was offered by Mr. C. L. Sulzberger, in *The New York Times* for October 28, 1964:

> "Khrushchev . . . conducted a running battle with writers who felt sufficiently revitalized by his reforms to fight for total freedom. Khrushchev struck back by restraining some of the boldest of these spirits – not in prisons or concentration camps, but in mental homes and sanatoriums."

After briefly reviewing the book, and noting that "The material conditions of Ward 7 are not too bad. . . . All they (the 'patients') lack is freedom," Mr. Sulzberger concluded:

> "When contemplating this strange book one cannot but wonder if in any way the system that invented *Ward 7* under Khrushchev as a halfway house to prison might now be affecting Khrushchev himself. In Stalin's day, political disgrace terminated in torture cells, execution cellars or Siberian barbed wire enclaves. Khrushchev, to his enduring credit, virtually did away with all that. . . ."

The supposition that *Ward 7* should be read as political commentary on contemporary Soviet society is further borne out by Mr. Elliott Graham of E. P. Dutton & Co. Tarsis was eager to have *Ward 7* published in the West, writes Mr. Graham, "because although the Soviet government claims that there are no political prisoners in the Soviet Union, the practice of putting inconvenient citizens into lunatic asylums seems to have become fairly widespread and is all the more shocking because this can be done without putting them on trial and because the term of their detention is indefinite."

These comments do not, in my opinion, penetrate to the significant lessons in this book. Approached as a piece on psychiatric hospitalization – as an exposé, as it were, of the Soviet mental hospital system – what do we find? The same claim – that they have been incarcerated improperly and unjustly – is made by people in mental hospitals all over the world. How do we judge whether such a claim is valid or not?

The irony of *Ward 7* will elude those who do not mentally substitute a Ger-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

man, a Frenchman, or an American for Valeriy Tarsis. Suppose an American poet were committed to a mental hospital and were to claim that he is sane; who would believe him? Valeriy Tarsis was confined for 6 months; Ezra Pound, for 13 years.

Our logic concerning involuntary mental hospitalization is evidently this: If a Russian is committed as insane, it is because he is sane but loves liberty too much; if an American is committed as insane, it is because he is insane but loves liberty so little that by depriving him of it we provide him with a "therapeutic milieu." "This is the only court," said a judge in Chicago, "where the defendant always wins. If he is released, it means he is well. If he is committed, it is for his own good." Pity the poor Russians, deprived of such guarantees of the "civil rights of the mentally ill."

Actually, Tarsis' comments about psychiatry and psychiatrists are far more detailed and damaging than his observations about Soviet society or the Soviet political system. Here are a few examples:

The hero, Alamazov, has been taken to the hospital by force: "In the morning Alamazov was examined by the head city psychiatrist, exactly as a prisoner is examined by a magistrate. He was brought to Dr. Yanushkevich's consulting room under guard. The doctor made no attempt to treat him as a patient; illness was never mentioned. Pink and smug, he seemed to take his role as prosecutor for granted."

Alamazov's view of the situation is this: "I don't regard you as a doctor. You call this a hospital, I call it a prison to which, in a typically fascist way, I have been sent without trial. So now, let's get everything straight. I am your prisoner, you are my jailer, and there isn't going to be any nonsense about my health or relations, or about examination and treatment. . . .'" Clearly, Alamazov has no insight into his condition: the poor fellow does not even realize he is sick!

Then there is this revealing exchange between Alamazov and Professor Stein, one of the nastier psychiatric types in the hospital:

"[Stein] 'We shall get acquainted, Valentine Ivanovich. . . . Tell us why you are here – what are your symptoms?' – Alamazov glared at him

Please let her know you care ....

ESTHELA RODRIGUEZ, ECUADORIAN, AGE 8. One of large family. Father peddler. Mother looks after house and children. Father earns less than $1.50 a day. Live in filthy slum in small bamboo house built over muddy water. Crowded. Unhealthy. No water. No sewage. Kitchen stove in outside shed. Two skimpy meals a day. No milk. Always hungry. Children in rags. Struggle to keep Esthela in school. Dreams of becoming a nurse. Parents sick with worry over children they cannot feed, clothe, educate. Help to Esthela means help to whole family.

You or your group can become a Foster Parent of a needy child. You will be sent the case history and photo of your "adopted" child and letters from the child himself. Correspondence is translated by PLAN. The child knows who you are. At once he is touched by love and a sense of belonging. Your pledge provides new clothing, blankets, education and medical care, as well as a cash grant of $8 every month. Each child receives full measure of material aid from your contribution. Distribution of goods is supervised by PLAN staff and is insured against loss in every country where PLAN operates. **Help in the responsible way. "Adopt" a child through Foster Parents' Plan. Let some child love you.**

PLAN is a non-political, non-profit, non-sectarian, government-approved, independent relief organization, registered under No. VFA019 with the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid of the Agency for International Development of the United States Government and filed with the National Information Bureau in New York City. **Check your charity—we eagerly offer our financial statement on request because we are so proud of the handling of our funds.** PLAN helps children in Greece, South Korea, Viet Nam, Hong Kong, the Philippines, Colombia and Ecuador.

© Foster Parents' Plan, Inc. 1965

Foster Parents' Plan, Inc.

352 PARK AVENUE SOUTH, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10010—FOUNDED 1937

PARTIAL LIST of SPONSORS and FOSTER PARENTS

Steve Allen
Sen. Paul H. Douglas
Helen Hayes
Conrad N. Hilton
Sen. Jacob K. Javits
Art Linkletter
Amb. & Mrs. Henry Cabot Lodge
Garry Moore
Dr. Howard A. Rusk
Mr. & Mrs. Robert W. Sarnoff
Gov. & Mrs. William W. Scranton
Sen. John G. Tower
Loretta Young

FOSTER PARENTS' PLAN, INC. **NR-12-65**
352 Park Avenue South, New York, N. Y. 10010
In Canada: P.O. Box 65, Sta. B, Montreal, Que.

A. I wish to become a Foster Parent of a needy child for one year or more. If possible, sex ....., age ....., nationality .....

I will pay $15 a month for one year or more ($180 per year). Payment will be monthly ☐, quarterly ☐, semi-annually ☐, annually ☐.

I enclose herewith my first payment $.....

B. I cannot "adopt" a child, but I would like to help a child by contributing $.....

Name.....

Address.....

City..... State..... Zip.....

Date..... *Contributions are Income Tax deductible.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with such contempt that Stein looked uncomfortable. 'I have not the slightest wish to get acquainted with you, but evidently I must. The reason I am here is that I was brought in by the police. My health is excellent. It's your job to make me ill. But I warn you, you won't succeed.' – 'How you actually got here is irrelevant. The point you should keep in mind is that healthy people are not in hospitals.' – 'That's exactly what the Cheka interrogators used to say to their victims: "Innocent people are not in prison. You say you are innocent, that means you are anti-Soviet, so prison is the place for you." The only difference is that now it's the madhouse,' – 'I see. . . . You don't sound exactly sane!' "

It would be a grave mistake to believe that *Ward 7* is populated only by political dissenters. Many of the inmates are ordinary people, like the elderly husband who stood in the way of his wife's fuller sexual life. This is Tatyana speaking to her friend Anna:

" 'It's quite simple. You write to the clinic. You tell them that your husband, who is much older than you are and beginning to be impotent, is insanely jealous and has been threatening your life.' – 'It's true. He said "I'll kill you".' "

I was intrigued, and pleased, by the views Tarsis put in the mouth of Professor Nezhevsky. Nezhevsky is an elderly psychiatrist, at odds with the police methods of his Soviet colleagues. In a conversation with a French psychiatrist, René Gillard, Nezhevsky says: "I told them at the Ministry that you avoid drugs, . . . your staff are forbidden to talk about 'illness,' the patients . . . are free to come and go. . . ." Replies Gillard: "So you stick to happiness pills?" "Yes, exactly," says Nezhevsky. "Happiness pills. Andaxin, aminodin, and the rest of the muck – our doctors think the world of it." And so on, until at the end, Gillard says: "I must say, the idea of compulsory treatment really revolts me. We'd never stand for it."

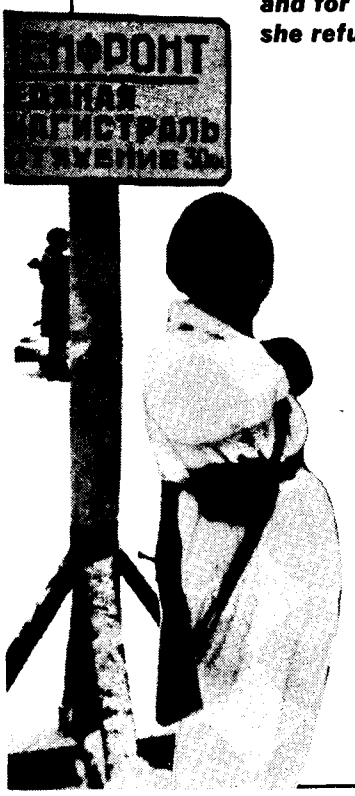
On the day I write this – responding partly to CORE demonstrations and draft-card burning by a Syracuse youth – Mayor William F. Walsh of Syracuse offered a "six-point legislative program beamed at reducing youthful crime and *civil disobedience*. . . ." Walsh asked that "a treatment and research center for juvenile delinquents be included in the new multi-million-dollar *mental health center* to be built here."

No, *Ward 7* is not only in Moscow. Nor is *Ward 7* a recent phenomenon. Psychiatric sanctions have been with us for centuries. Successors to the witch hunts, they are one of the manifestations of a passage, in Western societies, from theological to secular, and from magical to "scientific," methods of *social control*. However, only through the creation of vast psychiatric bureaucracies in modern mass societies has involuntary mental hospitalization become a major force in the police powers of the state. To attribute this evil to Communism, or to Capitalism, would thus be both an oversimplification and an evasion.

Indeed, by alluding to Chekhov's *Ward No. 6*, Tarsis admits that he knows this. Chekhov, himself a physician, had as his protagonist not a patient, but a psychiatrist – Dr. Andrei Yefimich. The psychiatrist is honest and soon cannot tolerate the task he has unwittingly assumed. He then commits the fatal mistake of actually engaging a patient in *conversation* – as if such a thing were possible with one who is insane! The dramatic end follows swiftly: the psychiatrist is declared insane, is committed to the hospital, and following a near-fatal beating by an attendant, dies of a stroke. Before he is declared insane, Chekhov's psychiatrist has this to say:

> "I am serving an evil cause, and receive my salary from people whom I dupe; I am not honest. But then I, by myself, am nothing; I am but a particle of a necessary social evil: all the district bureaucrats are harmful and receive their salaries for nothing. Therefore it is not I who am to blame for my dishonesty but the times."

It is necessary to be absolutely clear about two points, lest *Ward 7* be misread: 1. Neither involuntary mental hospitalization as such, nor its political uses and abuses, was discovered by the Soviets. 2. The fundamental logic be-



they strangled Leningrad and for three terrible years she refused to die

For nine hundred days – 1941 to 1944 – Leningrad, a city of three million people, was under total siege. During the first five months alone, 250,000 perished from cold and starvation as all supplies of food, fuel, and ammunition were cut off. Until now, no one has told the Russian version – what it was like within the blockade. Dmitri V. Pavlov, chief of food supplies for both soldiers and civilians, tells the story in a book that in its Russian edition has become a standard reference for Soviet and foreign scholars. No one knows better than he the facts, figures, and statistics of the incredible struggle to maintain life.

"Of all the possible Russian works on their wartime experiences, this is by all odds the best and the most important."

–From the Foreword by Harrison E. Salisbury

LENINGRAD 1941: THE BLOCKADE

Dmitri V. Pavlov

Translated by John C. Adams
Illustrated, $4.50

Inquire at your bookstore
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
Chicago and London

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hind commitment has been accepted throughout the world for several centuries, and is still widely accepted today: according to it, it is "humane" and "helpful" to deprive a person of his *liberty* – a right second only to his right to his life – on the ground of "mental illness" (or because such "illness" renders him "dangerous to himself and others"); if so, the only question is to define and determine what mental illness is or who is mentally ill.

Thus, Tarsis explains, it is "assumed, by doctors and politicians, writers and ideologists, that anyone dissatisfied with the socialist paradise must be a lunatic. . . ." Every one of the modern nation-states has, in the course of the last century-and-a-half, produced its own definitions and theories of lunacy. It is in this way that both a political and a psychiatric analysis of *Ward 7* must come to the same thing: a better understanding of secular society, its bureaucracies, and its methods of social control – among them, institutional psychiatry.

The list of famous persons deprived of liberty by means of psychiatric incarceration would run to several pages; for example, Secretary of State Forrestal, Governor Earl Long, General Edwin Walker, Ezra Pound, Norman Mailer, and Mary Todd Lincoln in the United States; in Germany – Marga Krupp, the wife of Fritz Krupp, committed by the Kaiser for making a nuisance of herself with complaints about her husband's homosexual orgies; and, in Austria-Hungary, Ignaz Semmelweiss, discoverer of childbed fever, for upsetting his colleagues and the public with the view that the disease was caused by the doctors' dirty hands.

Only a short time ago, men believed that slavery was a good institution, so long as only the proper people were enslaved: in historical order, the proper persons were the enemy vanquished in battle, the heathen, and the Negro. At long last, mankind concluded that slavery was a basic human wrong, regardless of who was placed in the class of slaves or why. I consider involuntary mental hospitalization also a basic human wrong. No adult should ever be cast in the sick role through the power of the state. The only deviance of which a person should be accused by the government is law-breaking; and once so charged, he should, of course, enjoy all the protection of the Constitution.

Many years ago, Lord Russell predicted that the Communist East and the Free West will, under the pressure of the forces of collectivism, drift ever closer together until the differences between the two will be indistinguishable. Years later, Orwell warned of the same dismal future in *Animal Farm*. The concluding paragraph reads thus: "Twelve voices were shouting . . . and they were all alike. No question, now, what had happened to the faces of the pigs. The creatures outside looked from pig to man, and from man to pig, and pig to man again; but already it was impossible to say which was which."

The nature of the "machine" that homogenizes man and pig now seems clear: it is the modern state, regardless of whether it is the police state of the East or the bureaucratic state of the West. By substituting "private happiness" for "public happiness," all modern societies tend to wean the individual from the *polis*, and thus deprive him of a voice in the decision of all but his most trivial interests. The result is depoliticized man. It is small wonder, then, that the "Psychological Man" of today is more interested in mental health than in liberty. Thus it is inevitable that the individual seems less a citizen and more a patient.

But not only is the nature of modern bureaucratic mass society as a depoliticizing apparatus clear. It is also clear that institutional psychiatry is an important cog in it: the Russians call it Ward 7 and Villat Kanatchikov; we call it the state hospital and the community mental health center. Totalitarian tyranny and popular (non-constitutional) democracy thus rush to meet each other in the Therapeutic State.

4 new exciting books from the Soviet Union (in English)

KONSTANTIN STANISLAVSKY: 1863-1963

A centenary, deluxe edition of memoirs, letters, reminiscences. Richly illustrated. A beautiful production. 296 pp., cloth, dust-jacket.

$3.00

EINSTEIN
B. Kuznetsov

The vice-chairman of the USSR Academy of Sciences has written a comprehensive and profound biography of Einstein, the man, and the impact of his ideas. 378 pp., cloth, dust-jacket.

$2.50

DISCOVERING THE SOVIET UNION
N. Mikhailov

A vivid presentation of Soviet economic and cultural progress, its vast mineral wealth, its fauna and flora. With maps, profuse photographs, well written. 349 pp., cloth, dust-jacket.

$3.50

LETTERS FROM THE DEAD

Last letters from Soviet men and women who died fighting the Nazis (1941-1945). 233 pp., cloth, dust-jacket.

$1.50

Send check or money order—N.Y.C. residents add 5% tax

NEW ERA BOOKS

80 East 11th St., Room 212, New York, N.Y. 10003

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A searing novel by "the firebrand of the Negro revolt."
—Newsweek

LEROI JONES
THE SYSTEM OF DANTE'S HELL
$3.95, now at your bookstore
GROVE PRESS

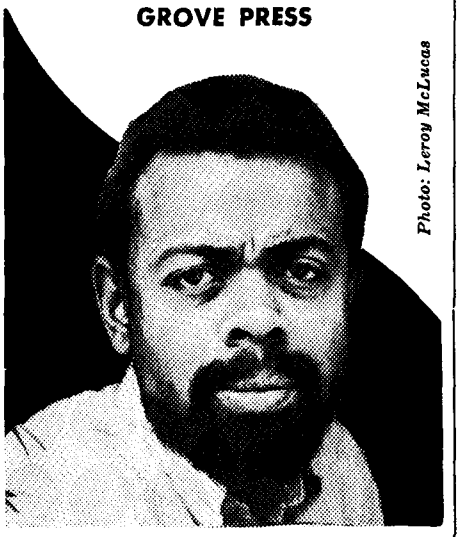


Photo: Leroy McLucas

FUN TO READ!

The IDLER is a lively, individualistic liberal monthly that entertains as it informs. Warm humor and cold facts mixed into a pleasant, personal and personable journalistic pot.

Send $3.00 today for a year's subscription. Money back if not satisfied.

Discover THE IDLER and you will have made a new friend.

It makes a good Christmas present, too.

THE IDLER
125 Fifth St., N.E.
Washington 2, D. C.

Please send me a one year's subscription to THE IDLER. Enclosed is $3.00.

Name .....

Address .....

.....Zip.....

Speaking for the ACLU

by Gerald W. Johnson

This much needed account of an important American institution is flawed by the indiscretion of the author in failing to make a sufficiently sharp distinction between his *obiter dicta* and the official pronouncements of the American Civil Liberties Union. It is not that Mr. Markmann deliberately offers his opinion as the attitude of the ACLU. The careful reader will not be misled; but,

The Noblest Cry:
A History
of the American Civil Liberties Union
by Charles Lam Markmann
(St. Martin's; $7.95)

unfortunately, the careful are a minority and the careless, whose name is legion, are almost certain to assume that when Mr. Markmann speaks for himself he echoes the ACLU.

For instance, the remark that if paganism had been somewhat more intelligent "the world would have been spared the 2,000-year sickness of Christendom," is not the position of the ACLU. It has no opinion on religion. It propagates none, but it brands none as a "sickness." That is strictly Mr. Markmann's view.

So, also, is the dictum: "Police work, in any society and under any form of government, can by its nature attract only the less admirable elements of the population . . . almost every policeman everywhere is a potential Fascist; if he were not, he could never contemplate being a policeman." It is possible that this is the private view of some members, but the Union denies the existence of any pariah caste.

After quoting Mr. Justice Brandeis' famous dissent in the wire-tapping cases, Mr. Markmann observes that "what Brandeis decried and deplored has become, instead, the guiding 'principle' of a Government that invades the rights of its subjects and the territories of its most distant and weakest neighbors, a Government whose subversions of honor both foreign and domestic have made its noble pretensions anathema among honest men at home and abroad."

There, again, Mr. Markmann speaks for himself, not for the American Civil Liberties Union. The ACLU has indeed opposed, stoutly and loudly, some policies of the United States Government and all its violations of its own code; but far from holding its name as anathema, it avows allegiance to that same Government and to no other.

A fairly wide acquaintance among its membership has not brought to my notice one who agrees with everything that the ACLU has done or advocated. This is conspicuously true of Roger Nash Baldwin who for thirty years came closer than any other to incarnating the Union. Incidentally, Mr. Markmann deserves praise for his emphasis on the often-forgotten fact that Baldwin, a first-class fighting man, was an even better negotiator operating between the battle lines to prevent the artillery's opening.

Discounting these and other barbed asides, the whole book is an admirable *précis* of the more notable efforts of the ACLU to defend the spirit of the Bill of Rights against the universal tendency of power to resent and if possible to override any restraint. It is frankly an *ex parte* plea taking no notice of arguments on the other side, as, for example, the evil inherent in the Bill of Rights. Freedom of speech, taken literally without submission to the rule of reason, would permit a man to shout "Fire!" in a crowded theater; and all punishment, taken the same way, is by definition cruel and unusual.

The function of the ACLU is simply to make sure that submission is made only to the rule of reason, not to some *reductio ad absurdum* miscalled reason. Being controlled by fallible men it has undoubtedly made errors, and presumably will make more. But the factual record of forty-five years, as presented in this book, shows that it has done such service as to justify and far more than justify its existence, warranting its support by lovers of American liberty.

COMING
Janet Flanner's Paris
by Joseph Featherstone

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Eternal Manager

by Richard L. Strout

What are we serious thinkers to make of Herbert Bayard Swope? We are duty bound to discover his Social Significance. But what did he do? He ran *The New York World* till it was sold out from under him. He was as irrepressible and inexhaustible and ego-

The World of Swope
by E. J. Kahn, Jr.
(Simon & Schuster; $8.50)

centric as George Bernard Shaw. He bet on horses. He either did, or didn't invent Bernard Baruch (evidence is that BB got off the ground by himself, as chairman of the War Industries Board in 1918, but that Swope took him over from then on). He ran a fashionable, witty, high-spirited salon in which he joyously cast himself in the principal role. He probably coined the phrase "cold war." He said, too, "I cannot give you the formula for success, but I can give you the formula for failure: Try to please everybody."

He did these things. But thinking it over I suppose the greatest thing Swope did was to create Swope. What a character. Ace foreign correspondent, raconteur, confidant of statesmen, adviser to the rich; all he wanted was lots of money and to have his finger in everything and to know everybody. He would dash a telegram off to a President at the drop of a hat, and get back prompt answers, too.

Admittedly, there is something irritating about Swope. After all, he turned out to be a glorified public relations man. Swope and Baruch needed each other; they were symbiotic; Baruch the eternal stuffed shirt, Swope the eternal manager. Unfair? Well, yes, a little, but Swope began as a really fine journalist and ended as a rather fancy manipulator, fixer and wire-puller for the very rich, with an air of self-importance that was always a little absurd. On the other hand, men like Roosevelt and Churchill and heaven knows who all beside, took him seriously (or seemed to); and he did commit himself with his customary bounce and gusto to many good causes.

Kahn does a bland, appreciative, *New Yorker*-style, 500-page biography that ripples anecdotally along, and allows you to stop only intermittently to ask, "Why am I and Kahn wasting our time on a man who, really, when all is said and done, is not very important?" The answer (if there is one) is in a footnote in which the author drops a phrase about Swope's part in the "manipulative society." There's your social significance. Swope was right at the heart of such a society and helped manipulate it. Let's offer one episode and let it go at that.

Swope was on a consulting-advisory basis with many big corporations, Alcoa, Standard of N.J., Schenley distillers, RCA and the like. While working for Twentieth Century-Fox the latter produced *Gentleman's Agreement* whose theme was anti-Semitism.

The picture was being released in December and to win a nomination for an Academy Award it had to make its mark before the end of the year.

"But Hedda Hopper," Kahn reports, "whose approval of any movie in her syndicated column counted heavily in the minds of people who make nominations for Oscars, was hesitant about giving it a plug. The reason was, Zanuck wrote Swope, that she'd heard that Baruch, an old friend of hers, had some reservations about Mrs. Hobson's [Laura Z. Hobson's] book."

Thus Swope's job was to take Baruch to the movie quick and get his blessing in order to appease Hedda Hopper. In a sense Baruch was Swope's client, too. Swope arranged a special showing of the film in New York and escorted Baruch to it. But Baruch had no particular reaction. Why? because, as it turned out, Baruch, who was quite deaf, couldn't hear the sound. A script was rushed to him. Swope in desperation meanwhile wrote the columnist a "Dear Hedda" letter, saying that "BB" had seen the film and was so deeply impressed "that he sent for the script, which Moss Hart supplied personally."

The film got the nomination its producers wanted. Failing to receive a testimonial from Baruch, Twentieth-Century Fox had repaired the breach with a tribute saying, "*Gentleman's Agreement* is an important contribution to the literature of today. . . . It is among the great pictures I have seen. – Herbert Bayard Swope."

Well, it *was* a good picture. And if you want a chatty account of a flamboyant figure in the manipulative society this is it.

I WANT TO KNOW

How Citizen Exchange Corps Helps Americans Find Out

If Russians Have HORNS . . .

Send me Free reprints of *N.Y. Times* articles and editorials telling about CEC, a non-profit, tax-exempt foundation. How it brings Americans of all ages and occupations to Russia for 3-week visits with counterparts. How it gives hospitality to Soviet visitors in U.S. And how I can participate in this program, which will lead eventually to exchanges of Americans and Soviets to live and work in each other's country for 6 months to 2 years.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY .....

STATE ..... ZIP NO. .....

Mail to

CITIZEN EXCHANGE CORPS
550 Fifth Avenue, Dept. 122
New York, N.Y. 10036

STUDENT TRAVEL IN 1966

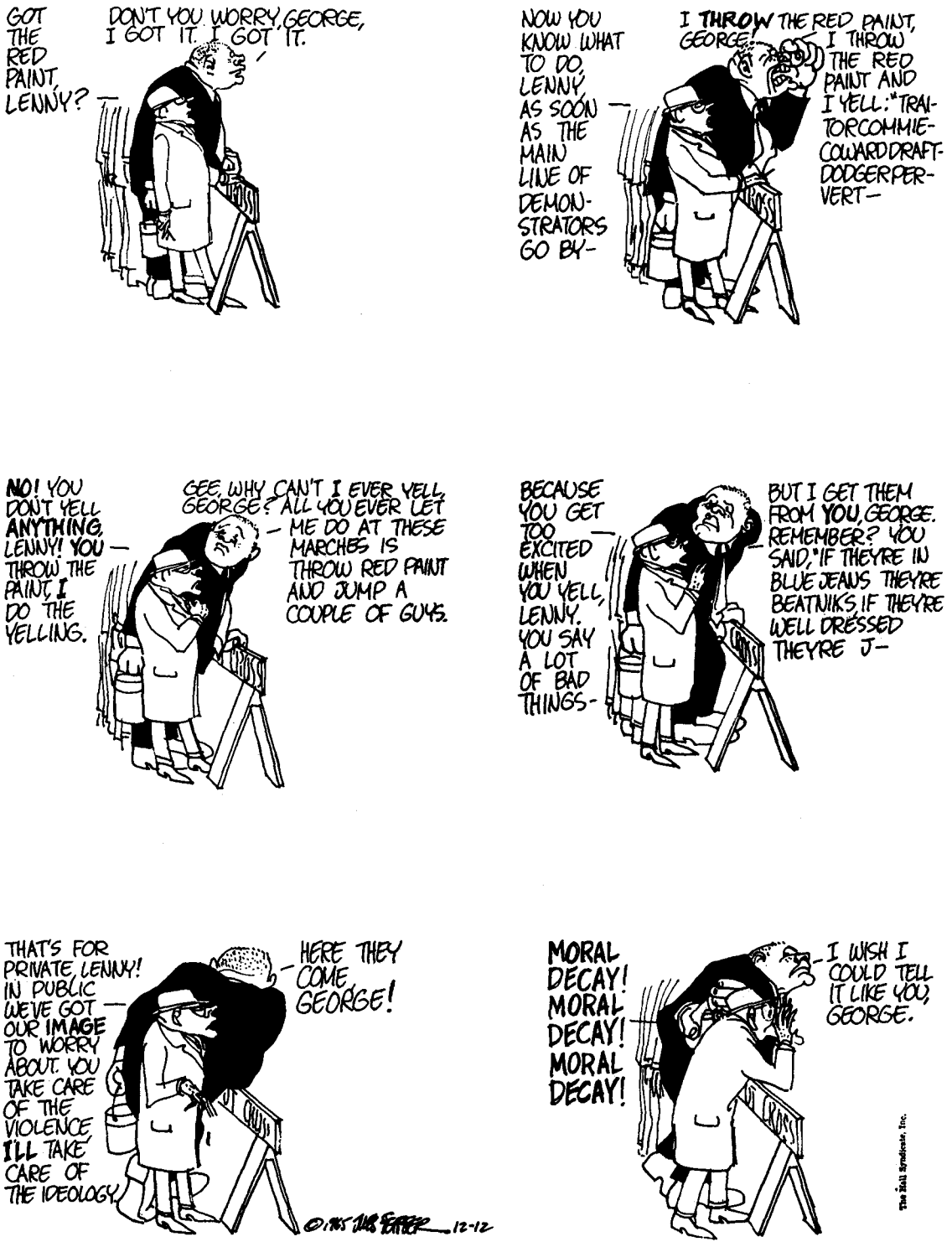
S.T.O.P. offers 18 different itineraries featuring Greece & Island cruises—"Running of the Bulls" in Pamplona,–Moroccan souks—Black Sea Cruise and Resorts plus **all** of Western Europe and Israel. Age limitation 18-28, only or separate **Teen Tours.** British Univ. Leaders. Our 18th year. See your travel agent for these brochures or for Hawaii; Orient/RTW. **S. T. O. P. TOURS** (Student Travel Overseas Programs) 2119 Addison St. Suite 9, Berkeley, California

"CIRCLE THE COUNTRY *that best fills the blank in the following quotation from a story in the* New York Times: *'Miss Sarabhai, a spinster in her early fifties, was arrested Wednesday evening under the Defense of _____ Rules. The Rules give the government authority to detain persons indefinitely without trial during times of emergency' (South Africa, Spain, India). Correct answer: India. All other answers win two weeks on the Foreign News desk."*

For the current issue of NATIONAL REVIEW send 25¢ to Dept. R-9, 150 East 35th St., New York, N. Y. 10016.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JULES FEIFFER


GOT THE RED PAINT, LENNY?
DON'T YOU WORRY, GEORGE, I GOT IT. I GOT IT.
NOW YOU KNOW WHAT TO DO, LENNY, AS SOON AS THE MAIN LINE OF DEMONSTRATORS GO BY-
I THROW THE RED PAINT, GEORGE!
I THROW THE RED PAINT AND I YELL: "TRAITOR COMMIE-COWARD DRAFT-DODGER PERVERT-
NO! YOU DON'T YELL ANYTHING, LENNY! YOU THROW THE PAINT, I DO THE YELLING.
GEE, WHY CAN'T I EVER YELL, GEORGE? ALL YOU EVER LET ME DO AT THESE MARCHES IS THROW RED PAINT AND JUMP A COUPLE OF GUYS.
BECAUSE YOU GET TOO EXCITED WHEN YOU YELL, LENNY. YOU SAY A LOT OF BAD THINGS-
BUT I GET THEM FROM YOU, GEORGE. REMEMBER? YOU SAID, "IF THEY'RE IN BLUE JEANS THEY'RE BEATNIKS. IF THEY'RE WELL DRESSED THEY'RE J-
THAT'S FOR PRIVATE, LENNY! IN PUBLIC WE'VE GOT OUR IMAGE TO WORRY ABOUT. YOU TAKE CARE OF THE VIOLENCE, I'LL TAKE CARE OF THE IDEOLOGY.
HERE THEY COME, GEORGE!
©1965 JULES FEIFFER 12-12
MORAL DECAY! MORAL DECAY! MORAL DECAY!
I WISH I COULD TELL IT LIKE YOU, GEORGE.
The Field Syndicate, Inc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FILMS

Son of Walden

A Thousand Clowns
(United Artists)
The Nanny
(Twentieth Century-Fox)

Herb Gardner's play and screenplay *A Thousand Clowns* is in the pseudo-Thoreauvian tradition which includes such different works as *Cannery Row* and *You Can't Take It With You* and which posits that the way to stem the corruption of our business society is to withdraw from the world. Their heroes do not step to a different drummer, they loaf.

Walden is a philosophical romance; as in all good romances, its truths are extracted from the other truths with which they are interwoven in life. Thoreau's descendants imitate the outward motions. They are not greatly concerned with the search for simplification, for self; they are primarily concerned with facile superiorities over those with jobs in the workaday world. The hero of Gardner's play is a purportedly charming and deliberately unemployed TV writer who lives on unemployment insurance and who doesn't understand why people bustle off to offices and cling to routine when they could walk along the docks or in the park because it's such a *beautiful* day. I suggest that the only deeply spiritual response to a man like that is a kick in the pants.

The dialogue is very bright; there are lots of funny lines and some nice knowledgeable digs. Also, a word is carefully put in for the wage-slaves and the uncharming. But the story remains phony. This is not because we know in advance that, at the end, the hero will return to the ratrace; if he didn't, it would be even phonier. For morally, his behavior is worse social exploitation than that of the television hogs who so horrify him.

The little emotional engine of the play is the comfortable, kidding relation that Gardner sets up between the hero and his 12-year-old (illegitimate) nephew who lives with him. The plot grows out of an investigation by the nephew's school of the home in which he lives – a visit by a pair of social workers, a young man and woman who, when they arrive, are engaged. The young man eventually leaves alone and the girl eventually stays the night with the hero. For her sake, he tries to take a job (some good Madison Avenue murals here), falters; but he is pursued, and ultimately submits.

Martin Balsam, as the hero's agent-brother, gives, again and richly, his likeable, proud-considerate Jewish performance. Barry Gordon, the boy, is acceptable. Gene Saks, as a Jewish TV kiddie-show comic, is neurotically perfect. William Daniels, since the off-Broadway production of Albee's *The Zoo Story*, has been doing a good business in WASP cartoons and supplies another sharp one here. But the delight of the film is Barbara Harris, who makes her screen debut as the visiting child-psychologist. Her face, which suggests a cream-puff with dark eyes, is somehow happily indefinite, and her comic style, developed in the *Second City* revue company, matches it. She specializes in cunning vernacular inflections that slide sideways through several meanings, or cease abruptly and suggest much.

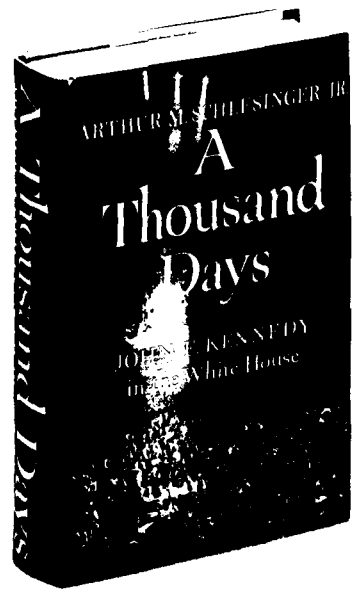
The picture's chief liability is what is supposed to be its chief asset – Jason Robards as the hero. First, there is the admittedly minor point of consanguineous casting; as in the original production of Miller's *After the Fall*, Robards is a spectacularly Gentile member of a Jewish family. More important is what

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Joseph Epstein *is an associate editor of* The Encyclopaedia Britannica. Leonard E. Nathan's *next book of poems will be published in the spring.* Thomas S. Szasz's *newest book is* Psychiatric Justice. Gerald W. Johnson *is on the National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union.* Richard L. Strout *is a veteran Washington newsman.*

"Everything that is written about the Kennedy years from now on will be influenced by this history . . ."

*John Kenneth Galbraith
Book-of-the-Month Club News*



Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.

"Schlesinger is almost uniquely skilled in the historian's craft: he seems always to have the relevant material at hand and in usable form, and he is an eloquent and seemingly effortless writer who is aided, without much doubt, by a deep and well-formed view of the issues under discussion. And in this case, as everyone will observe, he was on hand with the history he writes . . . a deeply perceptive telling of a brief, bright moment in our history."*

"This is Arthur Schlesinger's best book. A great President has found — perhaps he deliberately chose — a great historian."
James MacGregor Burns,
New York Times Book Review

At all bookstores $9.00

HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY *Publishers*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Pleasure of Giving A Book at Christmas

Especially if it is THE FACES OF FIVE DECADES!

This anthology, taken from fifty years of The New Republic, *contains an impressive list of contributors indeed . . . Henry Miller, Thomas Wolfe, Walter Lippmann, John Steinback, George Bernard Shaw, Adlai Stevenson . . . and many many more.*

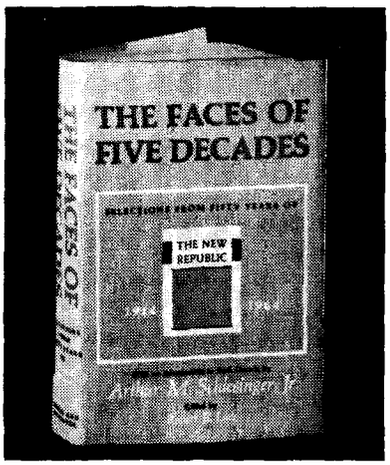
► *Each of the Five Decades is introduced by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.*

► *Each of the Five Decades offers delightfully rich portraits of some of the great men and women of the twentieth century.*

Acclaimed by literary critics as ". . . a remarkable profile of America."

You will give hours of pleasure when you give The Faces of Five Decades *as a gift.*

Available in either hard cover, pictured above ($6.95) or soft cover ($2.95).



Why not order a hard cover copy as a gift and a soft cover copy for yourself—at the special *combined rate of $9.00. (This combined offer is good only through December 31, 1965)*

Complete the coupon below, enclose your check or money order, then sit back with at least one less gift to worry about on your list.

A gift of The Faces of Five Decades *is a very particular piece of Americana.*

THE NEW REPUBLIC, Department F
1244-19th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036

I wish to make my Christmas shopping easier and more interesting. Please send me:

_____hard bound copies of *The Faces of Five Decades* at $6.95 each (reg. price $7.95 each)

_____soft bound copies of *The Faces of Five Decades* at $2.95 each

_____sets of a hardbound and a softbound copy each at the special rate of $9.00

My check or money order for $_____ is enclosed.

*Name*_____

*Address*_____

*City*_____ *State*_____ *Zip*_____

seems to me the misconstruction of his career. He made his biggest successes in New York productions of O'Neill's *The Iceman Cometh* and *Long Day's Journey into Night*, two roles that are variants of saloon toughs with buried hearts of gold. These successes brought him other roles, more conventional, for which he is physically and temperamentally quite unsuited. His achievements in a small circumscribed territory pushed him into a larger territory where he is uncertain and unconvincing – a good character actor of a limited kind pretending to be a rounded and complete leading man. Whenever he has to appear as a Hero, to appeal directly, to have non-brusque sex appeal, to seem obviously "nice," he is not only unattractive but unbelievable. This present role calls for easy, unaffected, contemporary slouch and candor; but because of Robards' basic unease in a "straight" part, the result is as artificial and mannered as if he were attempting to play Congreve.

The director, Fred Coe, who has apparently not missed many recent French films, has done his best to break open the original play into cinematic motion. The effort is not completely successful, but it is greatly aided by the photography of Arthur J. Ornitz and the editing of Ralph Rosenblum.

The Nanny, a modest psychological thriller, is worth mention on a few scores. It is the second picture in recent weeks based on an Evelyn Piper novel that was filmed in England. (The other was *Bunny Lake Is Missing*.) It presents Bette Davis in the leading role, a faithful old retainer, one of whose little charges has drowned in a bathtub, and it proves again how much Miss Davis' career owes to clothes, make-up, and self-confidence. Her acting seems to me to rest more on her knowledge of the audience's adulation than on talent. The prime attractions are the performances around Miss Davis: William Dix, the child who knows the truth about the nanny but is not believed; James Villiers, his remote father; Wendy Craig, his weepy incompetent mother; and Jill Bennett as the boy's aunt – an actress prized in the English theatre and insufficiently known in films, who has a heart-attack scene so persuasive that it leaves one hurting.

STANLEY KAUFFMANN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RECORDS

Outstanding Records of 1965

Bach: Preludes and Fugues in A minor and E flat, etc. for organ; Prelude and Fugue in B minor, etc.; Walcha (Deutsche Grammophon Archive). Toccata and Fugue in D minor, Fantasia and Fugue in G minor, etc.; Karl Richter (Deutsche Grammophon). Violin Concertos in A minor and E; Grumiaux with English Chamber Orchestra under Leppard (Philips).

Beethoven: Piano Sonatas Op. 22; Opp. 27 No. 2 and 28; Op. 31 No. 2; Op. 31 No. 3; Opp. 53, 54 and 57; Opp. 78, 81a and 90; Opp. 101 and 109; Op. 106; Opp. 110 and 111; Schnabel (Angel). Variations Opp. 34 and 35; Schnabel (Angel). Piano Concerto No. 4; Toscanini with NBC Symphony and Serkin (RCA Victor). Quartet Op. 132; Juilliard Quartet (Victor).

Bellini: *Norma;* Sutherland, Horne, Alexander with London Symphony under Bonynge (Victor).

Berlioz: *Romeo and Juliet;* Toscanini with NBC Symphony (Victor). *Symphonie Fantastique;* von Karajan with Berlin Philharmonic (Deutsche Grammophon).

Bizet: *Carmen;* Callas, Gedda with Paris Opera Orchestra under Prêtre (Angel).

Brahms: 4 Symphonies; von Karajan with Berlin Philharmonic (Deutsche Grammophon).

Bruckner: Mass in E minor; Gillesberger with Vienna Chamber Choir and State Opera winds (Lyrichord).

Chopin: 4 Ballades, Trois Nouvelles Etudes: Ashkenazy (London). Concerto No. 1; Gilels with Philadelphia Orchestra under Ormandy (Columbia).

Dowland: Songs and pieces for lute; Pears and Bream (Victor). Ayres for 4 voices; Golden Age Singers (Westminster).

Handel: Chandos Anthems Nos. 4 and 6; Nos. 2 and 3; Helen Boatwright, Bressler, Collegium Musicum of Rutgers University under Alfred Mann (Cantate). 15 Sonatas Op. 1; Olevsky, violin (Westminster). 6 Concerti Grossi Op. 3; Academy of St. Martin-in-the-Fields under Marriner (Argo).

Haydn: Quartets Op. 54; Allegri Quartet (Westminster). Quartets Op. 77; Amadeus Quartet (Deutsche Grammophon).

Janácek: *Missa Glagolitica* (Slavonic Mass); Kubelik with Chorus and Orchestra of the Bavarian Radio, Evelyn Lear, Roessl-Majdan, Haefliger (Deutsche Grammophon).

Mendelssohn: Music for *A Midsummer Night's Dream;* Kubelik with Orchestra and Chorus of the Bavarian Radio (Deutsche Grammophon).

Monteverdi: Madrigals for solo voices, choruses and instruments; Hamburg Monteverdi Chorus under Juergens (Telefunken).

Mozart: Quintet K.581 for clarinet and strings, Trio K.498 for clarinet, viola and piano; de Peyer and Melos Ensemble (Angel). Sonata for 2 pianos K.448; Ashkenazy and Frager (London). *The Magic Flute;* Lear, Wunderlich, Fischer-Dieskau with Berlin Philharmonic under Boehm (Deutsche Grammophon).

Musorgsky: *Songs and Dances of Death;* George London (Columbia).

Palestrina: Motets *Stabat Mater, Hodie Beata Virgo* and *Senex Puerum Portabat, Magnificat, Litaniae de Beata Virgine;* Choir of King's College, Cambridge (Argo).

Prokofiev: Violin Concerto No. 1; Stern with Philadelphia Orchestra under Ormandy (Columbia). Symphony No. 5; Ansermet with L'Orchestre de la Suisse Romande (London).

Rameau: Six Concerts en Sextuor; Paillard Chamber Orchestra (Musical Heritage).

Scarlatti: Sonatas L. 382, 449, 213, 20, 14, 418, 461, 255 etc.; Landowska (Odeon in preference to Angel).

Schubert: Piano Trio Op. 99; Stern, Rose and Istomin (Columbia). Piano

EUROPE

An unregimented trip stressing individual freedom. Low cost yet covers all the usual plus places other tours miss. Unless the standard tour is a "must" for you, discover this unique tour before you go to Europe.

EUROPE SUMMER TOURS
255 Sequoia, Dept. N—Pasadena, California

FUN TO READ!

The IDLER is a lively, individualistic liberal monthly that entertains as it informs. Warm humor and cold facts mixed into a pleasant, personal and personable journalistic pot.

Send $3.00 today for a year's subscription. Money back if not satisfied.

Discover THE IDLER and you will have made a new friend.

It makes a good Christmas present, too.

THE IDLER
125 Fifth St., N.E.
Washington 2, D. C.

Please send me a one year's subscription to THE IDLER. Enclosed is $3.00.

Name .....

Address .....

.....Zip.....

SECRECY and the ARMS RACE

A Theory of the Accumulation of Strategic Weapons and How Secrecy Affects It

MARTIN C. McGUIRE

An acute study of the vital questions: How much hide and seek is necessary or wise in the arms race? When is it imperative to impress on your enemy the truth about your arms build-up? How can our security be increased and how can the entire two-sided race be controlled? Since completing this book the author has become an operations research analyst at the Pentagon. $5.95

THE STRATEGY OF CONFLICT
Thomas C. Schelling
"An extraordinary book . . . highly important political and strategic problems . . . receive illuminating treatment . . ." —*Science.* Second printing. $6.25

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SUMMERLANE CAMP

in the tradition of

The Little Commonwealth
Summerhill
The Gorky Colony

Continuing an exploration of the boundaries of freedom in democracy; seeking to teach that love is something more than need; that work and creativity are inseparable.

Now in our 4th summer.
Boys & Girls Ages 5-19

BUCK BROOK FARM
NORTH BRANCH 5, N. Y.

For new subscribers only.

COMMENTARY, Dept. NR67
165 East 56th St.,
New York, N.Y. 10022

Please enter my subscription
☐ 8 months — $3.87
☐ 12 months — $5.39
(regularly $8.00 a year)
☐ Please send bill ☐ Payment enclosed

Name_____
Address_____
City_____ State_____ Zip_____
Outside U.S.A.—add $1.00 per subscription.

Please use separate sheet for gift subscriptions.

Sonata in C minor; Graffman (Columbia).

Schumann: *Liederkreis;* Fischer-Dieskau (Angel) .

Stravinsky: *Jeu de Cartes* etc.; Stravinsky with Cleveland Orchestra (Columbia). *Apollo* and *Orpheus;* Stravinsky with Chicago Symphony and recording orchestra (Columbia). *The Rake's Progress;* Stravinsky with Raskin, Young, Reardon, Sarfaty, Sadlers Wells Opera Chorus and Royal Philharmonic (Columbia).

Tchaikovsky: Symphonies Nos. 1; 3; 6 *(Pathétique);* Maazel with Vienna Philharmonic (London).

Thomson: *Four Saints in Three Acts;* Thomson with soloists, chorus and orchestra (Victor).

Verdi: *Macbeth;* Nilsson, Taddei with St. Cecilia Orchestra under Schippers (London). *La Forza del Destino;* Price, Tucker, Merrill, Tozzi with RCA Italiana Orchestra under Schippers (Victor). *Luisa Miller;* Moffo, Bergonzi, MacNeil, Tozzi with RCA Italiana Orchestra under Cleva (Victor). Arias; Tebaldi (London).

Victoria: Masses *O Magnum Mysterium* and *O Quam Gloriosum;* Chorus of London Carmelite Priory (Oiseau Lyre).

Wolf: Songs; Elena Gerhardt (Angel).

Collections: French and English Songs; Cuénod (Westminster). Harpischord works by Scarlatti, C.P.E. Bach, Couperin, Rameau and others; Puyana (Mercury). Harpsichord works by Farnaby, Byrd, Bull and other English composers; Igor Kipnis (Columbia). Couperin's Pièces en Concert, Vivaldi's Cello Concerto in E minor (Sonata No. 5) etc.; Fournier with Festival Strings Lucerne under Baumgartner (Deutsche Grammophon). Beethoven's Violin Sonata Op. 47 *(Kreutzer)* and works of Debussy and Bartok; Szigeti and Bartok at Library of Congress (1940) (Vanguard). Arias from *Semiramide, La Cenerentola, L'Italiana in Algeri, Les Huguenots, Le Prophète* and others; Marilyn Horne (London). *Toscanini Concert Favorites;* Strauss' *Tritsch-Tratsch Polka,* Paganini's *Moto Perpetuo,* Sousa's *El Capitan,* Bach's Air on the G-String in addition to Strauss' *Don Juan,* Ravel's *Daphnis and Chloë,* Tchaikovsky's *Romeo and Juliet* (Victor).

B. H. HAGGIN

A COMMUNICATION

Cuba's New Beat

Stephen Barber's breezy Cook's tour of contemporary Cuban affairs (November 20) was laced with the kind of inaccuracy, gossip, and superficial judgment which too often fill the accounts of Western correspondents. It is true that the Castro regime has in the past year moved rapidly towards institutionalization and shown signs of settling down to a better-organized, more business-like approach to its internal economic problems. But if Mr. Barber thinks that "the Bay of Pigs is only a dim memory," he ought to look around him a little more, read the Cuban press (still violently anti-Yankee and filled with admonishments to the people to stay on guard against the constant threat of US aggression), and talk to more Cubans.

Of course the sense of a national military emergency, with every able-bodied citizen out armed and drilling in some militia unit, is largely a thing of the past. This is because the Soviet Union, in recompense for the affront to Cuba that was the Missile Crisis, has since then fully armed, equipped, and helped to train Cuba's armed forces into the biggest and best-prepared military establishment in Latin America. There is even one highly-equipped special force, called "Battalion 500," which is constantly on maneuvers in some part of the island, a sort of terrestrial version of the Strategic Air Command.

Nevertheless, during May and June when the Dominican crisis was at its height the entire island was on military alert, including the women. At the 26th of July celebration in Santa Clara this year, thousands went to the carnival with hats and fans which bore a picture of Fidel and the inscription, "If they want peace, there will be peace; but if

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

they want war, we are not afraid to give them war," a typical quote from a Castro speech. School children in Cuba still drill with real weapons and are taught how to fire them, after a fashion. Mr. Barber noticed that the 105mm anti-aircraft guns are gone from the Malecon (antiquated, clumsy to fire, and too exposed, they were taken away nearly two years ago); but had he lifted his head he would have seen that they have been replaced by four mobile anti-aircraft batteries of late Russian manufacture, manned day and night by a company of Cuban GIs in emplacements on the grounds of the Hotel Nacional, the famous old tourist watering-spot. . . .

Castro is not "holding back" technicians from leaving the country but merely requiring those in important or difficult jobs to wait until replacements are found and trained, which may take up to one year. But he has guaranteed that they, and doctors too, will be permitted to go under those conditions – scarcely an unreasonable position. And since when does any country allow men of draft age to depart in large numbers before they have served military service, the United States included? Mr. Barber says that early errors, such as that of "pressing headlong into industrialization," can now be freely admitted, implying that the lid on self-criticism has recently been lifted. But Castro and other officials have been publicly admitting this and other mistakes since 1963 at least. . . .

Every journalist who visits Cuba these days feels obliged to make a contribution to the gossip about the departure of Ché Guevara, and I will only say that Mr. Barber has nothing new to add. Too bad, because the mystery of "El Ché," that mercurial figure so intimately a part of the warp and woof of the Cuban revolution, is a complex and fascinating subject for analysis. The fact that Guevara's name is still high in public and official acclaim is not, as Barber claims, only possible because he is politically "dead" in Cuba, since his popularity and official recognition were just as great when he was Number Two man in the regime. Rather, it represents a painfully candid admission by everyone, from Castro on down, that the galvanizing normal force which Ché's character always generated to the revolution is a fundamental loss not likely to be replaced. To put it simply, it shows how much they are missing him. I would also differ from Mr. Barber's opinion that Ché's departure has been responsible for a sharp reduction in the program of training rebel cadres from other Latin American countries in Cuban guerrilla war tactics. One may only speculate, but I feel that it was probably the other way around. That is, I believe that Ché and Fidel found themselves increasingly in philosophical disagreement on what programs Cuba should allow – industrialization *vs.* agriculturization; moral incentive *vs.* material incentive for the workers; military support *vs.* political support to other revolutions – and that Ché, finding himself at ideological odds with his old comrade-in-arms, and realizing that he could neither modify his own position nor serve loyally when Fidel was following other courses, had only one decision left: to leave.

Finally, I think Mr. Barber is quite dangerously mistaken in his conclusion that Fidel Castro is an insincere Marxist-Leninist who is playing the game with Russia because, as he says, "he who pays the piper calls the tune." I cannot stress too strongly that what Barber (and others) see as the "improvised" quality of Fidel's Communism must be viewed not as a sign of insincerity but rather, on the contrary, as an indication of deep conviction and commitment to Marx and Lenin. It means that Cuba is not going to base itself slavishly on the model of any other Communist country, that it eschews adherence to any party line, even though the Soviet Union, which has been responsible for Cuba's economic and military survival, might prefer it so. Instead, Cuba's leaders are striving to evolve an original species of Communism tailored uniquely to Cuba's people's needs and aspirations.

Whether they can do it or not is a question only time can answer. Meanwhile, the Party is being organized on all levels and will probably hold its first congress at the end of next year. If the newly-appointed Central Committee includes but a handful of old Moscow party-liners and is comprised mainly of revolutionary Fidelistas whose theoretical grasp of Marxism is rudimentary, no matter; they know enough to be Communists, and they are all studying. And so are the youth who in not too many years will begin replacing the old prerevolutionaries; they will know their Marxism well.

Barring an American invasion in the very near future, or a similar cataclysm, Communism in Cuba is there to stay. Mr. Barber's speculations to the contrary are simply wishful thinking.

Lee Lockwood
New York City

Mr. Lockwood *spent 14 weeks in Cuba this summer working on a book to be* published by Macmillan and recently *returned for another two weeks for* Life.

New York Chapter
LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
1965-66 Forum Series

Fri., Dec. 10, 1965

STAUGHTON LYND
ROBERT PICKUS
ARTHUR WASKOW

What Road For The Peace Movement?

Fraternal Clubhouse Auditorium
110 W. 48th Street, NYC

Fri., Jan. 7, 1966

PAUL GOODMAN
FRANK RIESSMAN
PATRICIA CAYO SEXTON

Can The Schools Educate?

Brotherhood-In-Action Auditorium
560 Seventh Avenue (at 40th St.), NYC

Fri., Jan. 28, 1966

MICHAEL HARRINGTON

"The Accidental Century": A Reply To The Critics.

Brotherhood-In-Action Auditorium
560 Seventh Avenue (at 40th St.), NYC

Registration fee (per session) $1.00
Student 75c All forums begin at 8 P.M.

League for Industrial Democracy
112 E. 19th Street
New York, N. Y. 10003

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Correspondence

Office of Economic Opportunity

Sirs:

Sargent Shriver – only yesterday the fair-haired boy of Capitol Hill – is under constant attack from one source or another. Yesterday, he could do nothing wrong; today, he can do nothing right. His principal aides seem to come and go in a welter of disillusion and failure. In the full glare of front-page stories, sleazy politicians and self-serving private groups conduct a tug-of-war for poverty money and the power that goes with it. It appears as though the poor are not to be served but to be perpetuated. . . . Everyone should get one thing straight in our thinking. The Office of Economic Opportunity which Sargent Shriver heads is only one small part of the War Against Poverty. It can't do the job by itself and it was never intended to. It represents only a tiny – but critically important – fraction of the national effort that is required to wipe out poverty in America.

For example, the OEO has concentrated its efforts on young people and the unemployed when most American poverty is among old people and those that are employed. Is this a misdirection of emphasis by OEO? Is it a dangerous policy blunder? Not necessarily.

So far, the OEO has *only* one billion dollars available to it – and I say *"only"* because it will take at least 40 billions to make a real, lasting dent on American poverty.

The OEO has to concentrate its initial effort *someplace* or else it will dissipate its meager resources in a travesty of doing almost nothing in each of far too many areas.

In my judgment, the greatest contribution that the OEO has made is to keep a national spotlight directed on poverty. The very inadequacy of the program has served to continually prick the American conscience. That is one of the main reasons why I favored the establishment of a special new federal agency to conduct the first skirmishes – for that is all they are – in the War Against Poverty. And that is why I favored the appointment of Sargent Shriver, a brilliant, articulate, dedicated, imaginative young man with a highly developed social conscience, to head it. . . . I do not favor a moratorium on criticism of the OEO nor even of Shriver himself. But I do urge that we not expect a bigger job from them than their resources make possible. If we give them more, we can expect more.

Rural Americans are entitled to be critical of OEO's comparative neglect of rural poverty as opposed to urban poverty. And we *are* critical and shall continue to be critical until this imbalance is corrected. But this emphatically does not mean that we will oppose the whole program until we get the results we seek. It does mean that we must assume our obligations to develop and submit meaningful proposals for attacking poverty in rural America. . . .

James G. Patton, President
National Farmers Union

WFF'N PROOF WFF'N PROOF WFF'N PROOF

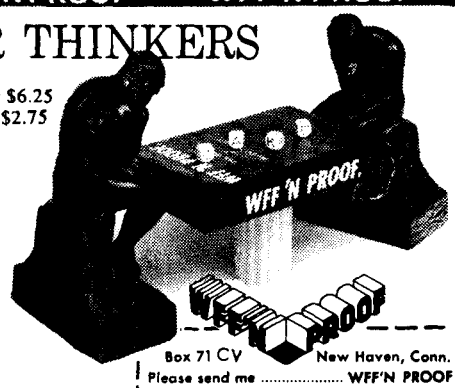
THE GAMES FOR THINKERS

WFF 'N PROOF: The Game of Modern Logic $6.25
EQUATIONS: The Game of Creative Math $2.75

PERFECT GIFTS FOR THOSE WHO ENJOY BRAIN TO BRAIN COMBAT

"Introduction of the first WFF 'N PROOF game . . . was in our estimation, a significant event in the teaching of logic — as significant in its field as the launching of the first satellite in the space race field." DATA PROCESSING DIGEST

". . . you will approve of WFF 'N PROOF, the game of modern logic. For the expert it's serious fun. For the skeptic it's putting things in their proper place. For the novice it's a course of study. . . ." ESQUIRE



Can you solve this problem?

1. There are three numbered statements in this box.
2. Two of these numbered statements are not true.
3. The average increase in I.Q. scores of those who learn to play WFF 'N PROOF is more than 20 points.

Is statement No. 3 true?

A NEW DIMENSION IN EDUCATIONAL GAMES
by Yale Professor Layman E. Allen

Box 71 CV New Haven, Conn.
Please send me ..... WFF'N PROOF
..... EQUATIONS
I enclose $ ..... and understand that if I am not completely satisfied, I can return the games in 10 days for a full refund of the purchase price.
Name .....
Address .....
City ..... State ..... Zip .....
Refund and return privileges guaranteed! Dealer Inquiries Invited

WFF'N PROOF WFF'N PROOF WFF'N PROOF

BOOK HUNTING?

Any Book Located

No matter how old or long out-of-print. Name the book—we'll find it for you! (Title alone is sufficient.) All authors, all subjects. Fiction, nonfiction. No obligation. Write to—Dept. NEW

BOOKS-ON-FILE

Union City New Jersey

Detroit's Finances

Sirs:

I wish to call to your attention an error in the otherwise excellent brief article entitled, "Detroit's Mayor Could Be Called to Higher Duties" (Nov. 27).

I quote a portion of the article, "Having promised to 'get Detroit moving again', Cavanagh surrounded himself with young, hep advisers. He went to the campuses for men like Richard Strichartz, a Wayne State University professor, whom he appointed city controller. He made the taxpayers like a one-percent city income tax levied against all who work in Detroit. He wiped out a $34.5 million deficit he inherited. With the city budget more than balanced, he cut property taxes and a tax on industrial machinery, thus encouraging new industry, and encouraging plants already in Detroit to expand. . . ."

In all fairness, it should be pointed out that the controller of the City of Detroit for the first two years and seven months of Mr. Cavanagh's tenure was Mr. Alfred M. Pelham, also a member of the Wayne State University faculty. It was under Mr. Pelham's guidance that the confused and unsatisfactory financial situation was put to rights. Detroit's debt, for example, was reduced from $34 million to $5 million, the income tax law was passed and other reforms were made or projected. Mr. Strichartz ably carries on the program which Mr. Pelham instituted.

Maurice M. Ramsey
Wayne State University

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BRITISH BOOK BARGAINS – All subjects. Catalogue free. Wants found. Transbooks, Box 44-NR, Matawan, New Jersey.

OUT-OF-PRINT BOOKS Supplied. Access to one million books, magazines. Free lists. Ardent Book-Finders Dept. NR, 29 Salem, Cos Cob, Conn.

FREE WORLDWIDE SEARCH SERVICE for out-of print books in any language: The Compleat Bookman, Box 148, Northport, L.I., N.Y. 11768

LOCATE BOOKS! Fla. Bookhunters. Box 15070-R. Orlando, Florida.

BOOKS FOR COLLECTORS! Free List. The Booklover's Answer, Webster 9, New York.

BOOKPLATES. Free catalog. Many beautiful designs. Address BOOKPLATES, Yellow Springs 3, Ohio.

"THE COMMUNITY: COULD THIS BE OUR TOWN?" by Wolf Von Eckardt. Pamphlet form, color cover. Reprinted from THE NEW REPUBLIC's 50th Anniversary Issue. 25c each, 10 copies for $2.00. Order from Dept. M, The New Republic, 1244 - 19th St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036.

VACATION AND TRAVEL CLUB. Free registration. Write Mrs. Ingrid Shark, PO Box 2836, Washington, D.C. 20013.

289 EUROPEAN HOTELS – 168 cities, 24 countries covered in latest list of excellent, inexpensive hotels. Prices, addresses. $1.00: Voyager LTD, Box 24684 NR, Los Angeles 24, Calif.

BRITISH SHOES FOR GENTLEMEN at a fraction of their American retail price! $12.95 includes duty and import charges. Delivery in ten days from receipt of order. Money back guarantee. Write for free illustrated catalogue. Steven Williams, Jr., Ltd., 37 East Willow Street, Millburn, N.J.

21 WAYS TO SAVE ON YOUR PHONE BILL. Send $1 to American Telephone Consumers Council, 1133-H Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10036.

20 BEAUTIFUL BLACK & WHITE WALLET SIZE prints and 1 5x7 in folder–$3.00 postpaid; made from any slide, negative or photo. Satisfaction guaranteed. Erler Camera, 1540 East 83rd Street,

ALMOST ALCHEMY! Wine Making Kit. All equipment necessary for transforming fruit juice into delicious wine. Satisfaction guaranteed. $4.95 postpaid. Forum, Box 137, Station A, Champaign, Illinois 61824.

FINANCE AND MEMBERSHIP DIRECTOR. Organization requires full-time staff member to direct and implement financial and membership programs. Starting salary, $7,000. For details contact ACLU of Washington, 2101 Smith Tower, Seattle, Washington 98104.

EDITED DORE OGRIZEK. "The Winter Book of Switzerland," 383 pages. Maps, line illustrations in color. $2.50. Midnight Books, Box 101, Wyckoff Heights Station, Brooklyn 37, N.Y.

CLASSIFIED RATES

Per word (single insertion).....20c
Per word 6 times in one contract year.....18c
Per word 13 times in one contract year.....17c
Per word 26 times in one contract year.....14c
Per word 48 times in one contract year.....13c

THE NEW REPUBLIC
1244 19th St. N.W., Wash. 36, D. C.

PROGRESSIVE 10 issues $2.50, Atlas $6.00 year. Playboy (gift) $6.00 year, Consumers Reports $4.00 year, Realities $10.00 year. Pollocks Magazines, 07739.

"AMERICA TOMORROW: CREATING THE GREAT SOCIETY." THE NEW REPUBLIC's widely applauded 50th Anniversary Issue, Special Studies on all of the main issues of today's world. Special reduced rate, 60c. Order from Dept. M, The New Republic, 1244 - 19th St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036.

FASCINATING MAGAZINE for book collectors! Information free. Sample copy 50c. The Booklover's Answer, Webster 9, New York.

NEW YORK editor aids writers in revising manuscripts. English-French. Box 455 New Republic.

TRANSLATIONS PROFESSIONALLY DONE – your specifications. French, Italian, Spanish, German and others. James A. Ardolino, 217 Parks Avenue, Joliet, Illinois.

POETRY WANTED. Enclose stamped envelope. Idlewild Publishing Company, 333 Frederick, San Francisco, California.

START A COLLECTION AGENCY. "Little Gold Mine!" Free Details. Franklin Credit, Roanoke, Virginia 24004.

OVERSEAS POSITIONS offer high salaries, free travel. Employers provide transportation and liberal vacations. Comprehensive new booklet. "Guide to Employment Abroad," covers all possibilities in sixty countries, all occupations. Includes exclusive "Directory of American Companies Overseas." Special reports on summer jobs, Government careers overseas, international organizations medical work, teaching, librarian, secretarial positions, English-language newspapers overseas, social work. Send $1.00. Airmail 30c extra. Money-back guarantee. Hill International Publications P.O. Box 79-N, East Islip, New York.

HAVE A FRIEND INTERESTED IN PHILATELY? Next 7+ cacheted covers commemorating US Major Space Efforts plus monthly space-philatelic-newsletter for $5.00. Space Craft Covers, Box 2296, Huntington, W. Va., 25724.

DO YOU HOLD A NONTHEISTIC VIEW of the world? Believe in man's potential to solve mankind's problems? There is an international organization of individuals who share your views. For information, literature, two copies of *The Humanist*, send $1 to American Humanist Association, Dept. NR6, Humanist House, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

FREEDOM CHRISTMAS CARDS – "The Children of Birmingham," "This Year the Freedom Tree." Ten cents apiece (regularly 15c). Do not send cash. Orders of less than ten cards not accepted. Send orders to Newark Community Union Project, 471 Clinton Avenue, Newark, New Jersey.

"WILL FORMS." Two will forms and book on wills. $1.00 complete. National Forms, Box 48313-NR, Los Angeles 48, Calif.

EXPERIMENT WITH "SLEEP-LEARNING." Self-hypnosis. Use your phonograph, recorder. Fascinating, educational. Details free. Sleep-Learning Research Association, Box 24-NR, Olympia Washington.

SILENCE THOSE AGGRESSIVE HUCKSTERS! – Minimize commercial brain-washing! Silence commercials with simple device. Illustrated "do-it-yourself" instructions plus safety resistor, 25c; complete kit, including switch, wire and safety resistor, $1.50 The Silencer, P.O. Box 106, Berkeley 1, California.

MUSIC OF MANY LANDS. Beautifully packaged authentic LP records. Free catalogue. Request Records, 66 Mechanic Street, New Rochelle, N.Y.

FOLK MUSIC RECORDINGS OF CONSISTENT QUALITY Authentic traditional singers, instrumentalists; tasteful interpreters. For descriptive catalog, write: Dept. NR, Folk-Legacy Records, Inc., Huntington, Vermont.

WARMED OVER RICKOVER LEFTOVERS, an album of zany folk songs for teachers, is the perfect Christmas gift for your favorite teacher. It's puncturing sacred educational cows and fracturing teachers all over America. Twelve side-splitting sections. Send $3.98 (3 for $11.00) to IMPACT RECORDS, P.O. Box 2096, Chattanooga, Tenn. 37409.

HARPSICHORDS, CLAVICHORDS by Sperrhake. Dependable, beautiful, moderately priced. Robert S. Taylor, 8710 Garfield Street, Bethesda, Md.

SABATHIL HARPSICHORDS are reliable, sound beautiful. 3911 W. 25th, Vancouver, Canada.

NUT-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB (TM) Special! Twelve kinds nut meats in two 9" plastic Nibble Trays. $3.95 plus 55c postage. Free nutty horoscope. We handle gift mailing. Northstar Station, Minneapolis, Minn.

BEAUTIFUL BLACK AND WHITE 8x10 ENLARGEMENT from any photo, negative or slide–$2.00 postpaid. Satisfaction guaranteed. Erler Cameras, 1540 E. 83rd St., Chicago, Illinois 60619.

SHAHN PRINTS. Limited edition of 300 graphics (17 x 22) signed by Ben Shahn. A folio of prints of the three civil rights workers slain in Mississippi; for $50; $20 for separate prints of Chaney, Goodman, or Schwerner. Checks are payable to Human Relations Council of Greater New Haven, Inc. Write Human Relations Council of Greater New Haven, Inc., 89 Howe Street, New Haven, Connecticut 06511.

ORIGINAL ART COSTS LESS THAN REPRODUCTIONS! GRAPHIC CIRCLE® offers you contemporary original signed lithographs, etchings, woodcuts for $3.00 monthly. Satisfaction guaranteed. Free Brochure—Graphic Circle, Dept. NR, 68 Fifth Avenue, NYC 10011.

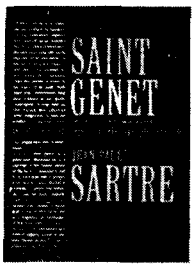
WHOLESALE ONLY Pentel Pens, 7 colors, and American made "H" Fine Line markers, 4 colors. Sells for 49c each. Low Low Prices. Sample Assortment. 6 for $2.00. Write "H" Company for Price List, 1133 "H" Broadway, N.Y.C. 10, N.Y.

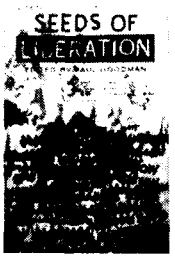
JAPANESE CONTEMPORARY ART – Purchase directly, money back guarantee. Send $1 M/O for color transparencies. KAWAGUCHI INTERNATIONAL GALLERY, P.O. Box 48, Sakai City, Japan.

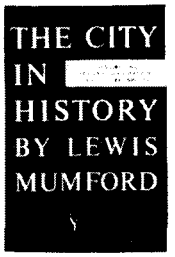
SIX DIFFERENT COLORFUL ANTI-WAR PINS, $1.00 postpaid from: Student Peace Union, Five Beekman Street, New York, N. Y. 10038.

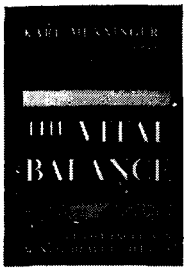
Printed by National Publishing Co.
301 N St., N.E., Washington 2, D. C.

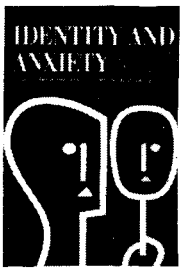
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

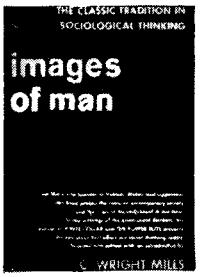


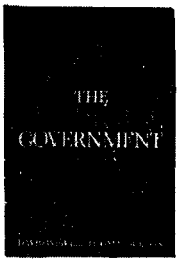


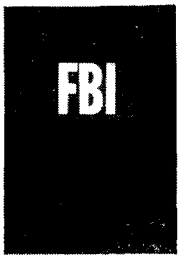


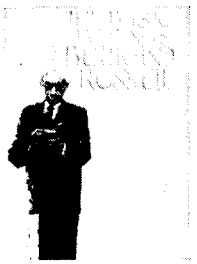






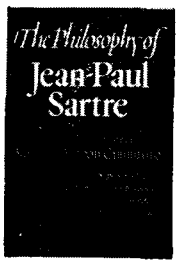


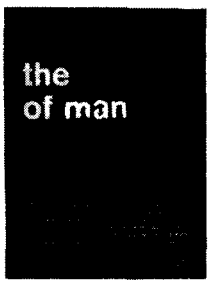


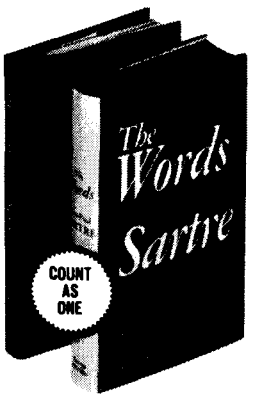


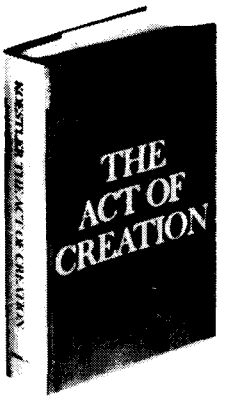
ANY 3 BOOKS FREE

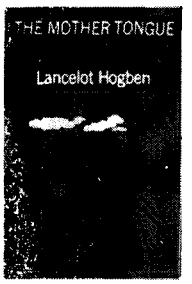
WITH YOUR FIRST SELECTION / **RETAIL VALUES TO $40.45**











SELECTIONS MAKE THE DIFFERENCE—For more than 20 years the Book Find Club has offered its members the **best in literature** at substantial savings. Ranging from the social sciences to biography, history, psychology, the arts—Book Find Club selections cover every interest. These are books that last—solid, readable books that have permanent value. As you add them to your library, you will be building a rich, cultural center in your own home. Each month, as a member, you will be offered an important, timely book at average savings of 40% over book store prices. These books are authoritatively reviewed in the **Book Find News** which also keeps you up to date on the hundreds of alternate selections which you can buy at the same, low member's prices. You need choose **only** the books you want (four more during the course of the coming year). Upon completion of this introductory agreement you will be entitled to a free **bonus** book after every third purchase. Why not insure yourself against ever again missing the books you really want to read and own. Start your membership today by choosing any *three of the books pictured above* **free** *with your first selection.*

Manchild in the Promised Land, Claude Brown.
Retail $5.95 ..... Member's price $4.95

The Philosophy of Jean-Paul Sartre. For the first time in any language, a comprehensive selection of the basic writings of Sartre.
Retail $7.95 ..... Member's price $5.95

The Mother Tongue, Lancelot Hogben. Retail $7.50 ..... Member's price $5.95

Seeds of Liberation, ed. by Paul Goodman. Camus, Russell, Baldwin, Theobald, Muste, Farmer, Martin Luther King and many others on major issues of our time. Retail $7.50 ..... Member's price $5.50

The Heart of Our Cities: *The Urban Crisis,* Victor Gruen.
Retail $8.50 ..... Member's price $5.95

We Are Not Alone, Walter Sullivan, Retail $6.95 ..... Member's price $5.50

The Words, Jean-Paul Sartre; and **The Heart of Man,** Erich Fromm.
Combined retail price $8.95 ..... Member's price (for both books) $5.95

The FBI Nobody Knows, Fred J. Cook. Retail $5.95 ..... Member's price $4.95

The Act of Creation, Arthur Koestler. Retail $8.95 ..... Member's price $5.95

Saint Genet: *Actor and Martyr,* Jean-Paul Sartre. Retail $8.50. Member's price $5.95

The Vital Balance: *The Life Process in Mental Health and Illness.*
Karl Menninger. Retail $10.00 ..... Member's price $6.95

The Invisible Government, David Wise and Thomas B. Ross.
Retail $5.95 ..... Member's price $4.50

The Fate of Man, edited by Crane Brinton. Including Plato, Aquinas, Nietzsche, Freud, Toynbee, Kant, Whitehead, Shapley, Huxley, and others.
Retail $7.50 ..... Member's price $4.95

The City in History, Lewis Mumford. Retail $11.50 ..... Member's price $6.95

Memories, Dreams, Reflections, C. G. Jung. Retail $7.50 ... Member's price $5.95

The Basic Writings of Bertrand Russell. Retail $10.00 ..... Member's price $5.95

Identity and Anxiety: *Survival of the Person in Mass Society.* A massive compendium of studies by Mead, May, Orwell, Rosenberg, Richards, Gorer, Howe, Jaspers, Mills, and more. Retail $7.50 ..... Member's price $5.50

Images of Man: *The Classic Tradition in Sociological Thinking,* edited by C. Wright Mills. **Retail $7.50** ..... Member's price $4.95

THE BOOK FIND CLUB, Inc. B65,12NR-1

One Park Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10016

You may enroll and send me the 3 free books of my choice, with my first selection at the special member's price (plus postage and handling). I agree to buy four additional selections or alternates from the wide range of books that will be made available to me in the coming year at substantial savings. When I do not want the current selection—or prefer to order another book—I may do so on the convenient form provided for this purpose. I may cancel my membership at any time after purchasing the four additional books.

First Selection_____

Free Books 1_____

2_____

3_____

Mr.
Mrs.
Miss .....
Please print full name

Address .....

City ..... State ..... Zip Code .....

(Same offer & prices apply in Canada: 105 Bond St., Toronto 2, Ont.)

SL-1

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED